











THE  
DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES,  
THE  
FRONTIER LANDS OF THE CHRISTIAN AND THE TURK.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.

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THE  
DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES,  
THE  
FRONTIER LANDS  
OF  
THE CHRISTIAN AND THE TURK.

BY A BRITISH RESIDENT  
OF TWENTY YEARS IN THE EAST.

[J. H. Skene]

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Third Edition,  
—◆—

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# THE FRONTIER LANDS

OF

## THE CHRISTIAN AND THE TURK.

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### CHAPTER I

TRAVELLING IN FRANCE, PIEDMONT, LOMBARDY, AND ISTRIA—FIUME—  
CASTLE OF TERSATTO—MONASTERY—ROMAN ARCH—CHURCH OF SAN VITO  
—SEA-BATHING AT FIUME.

THREE days with the seven-league boots of steam and the giant stride of railways would have sufficed to convey me to the utmost verge of the beaten track of continental tours, and I hoped to have reached in that short space of time a favourable starting-point for a projected excursion in the provinces of Austria which are least known, and afterwards through the Danubian Principalities to other parts of the Turkish Empire. I had already on a previous occasion made that rapid journey, in which the towns of Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Munster, Minden, Hanover, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Berlin, Franckfort on the Oder, Breslaw, and Vienna, appear and disappear somewhat after the fashion of the milestones which succeeded each other so quickly when the American was riding his trotter, that he calculated he was in a graveyard; and I fully expected again to witness the practical fulfilment of the German seer's



prediction, which announced in 1750 that before another century should have elapsed, enormous black serpents would be seen rushing over the country with prodigious velocity, snorting and roaring like wild beasts, and emitting flames from their mouths and nostrils as fiery dragons did of old; but I was fated to travel in a manner less consistent with the fast spirit of the present age; for all my plans were upset when I was on the point of putting them in execution, and I was induced to make a radical change in my *marcheroute*. Instead of racing through the enlightened countries of Belgium and Northern Germany, I therefore soon found myself slowly traversing the benighted regions of France; which, in spite of her boasted position in the vanguard of progress and improvement, are in fact much behind the other states of Europe, in as far as civilization can be tested by iron roads and horseless vehicles, or by the prosperity and stability of their social and political condition either, be it said by the way. The roads were bad enough in all conscience: far from resembling what the great lines of communication in the nineteenth century generally are, they would have been a disgrace to the *Département des Ponts et Chaussées*, even in the days of St. Louis; not only was there nothing of iron about them, but the metal, as it has been called since the time of the great Macadam, with which it had been constructed, was both soft and scanty; and, as for the horses and the vehicles, they were altogether worthy of each other; the former heavy, slow, and imperturbable; the latter, facetiously called diligences, as if the substantive, with which, of all others, they had the least apparent affinity, had been



ironically selected for their especial designation. The change from the monopoly of the *coupée* of this species of conveyance to that of the Italian *velociferi*, tended rather to raise the French locomotive machines in my estimation than otherwise ; for the ambitious appellation of the public carriages of Piedmont and Lombardy could be relative only to the huge two-wheeled carts, laden with goods and drawn by a long line of some six or seven gigantic mules, which are to be met with in such numbers on the straight and level roads of those countries ; and a marked contempt for speed, with an equal disregard for the value of time, seemed to increase in the provision made for the transport of wayfarers as I advanced towards the south-eastern parts of Europe.

Another phasis in the fast declining existence of stage-coaches arose for my inspection when I entered the German territory of the Austrian Empire ; and here their peculiar idiosyncrasy was better expressed by the sound at least of their denomination, for in a *schnellwagen* was represented the most lively image of the *snail wagon* which could well be contrived. The phlegmatic deportment of the equipages, to which we were consigned as we approached the frontiers of Hungary, raised many a merry laugh in our little party ; and of a truth it was most amusing to observe the systematic sluggishness of everything about them :—methodical slowness pervaded all the movements of the grave teams with their heavy trot, and the dignified postboys, most of whom were well stricken in years ;—it appeared to have been imparted to the very wheels, especially when the drag was kept on in ascending a short way after a long descent, in

order to save the trouble of replacing it at the top of the next hill, which eccentric and unlogical manœuvre was frequently repeated, to the evident dissatisfaction of the horses, as the well-worn whip-lashes sufficiently attested.

They were no ordinary quadrupeds either, these same post-horses ; and though denied the gift of speech, with which a less noble beast of burden reproved its master, Balaam, they certainly were endowed with a degree of reason adequate to the task of appreciating the manners of their respective Jehus ; for they sometimes displayed the most unequivocal disapprobation of the proposal that they should forward us a stage on our journey, by doggedly returning to their mangers when they were left standing before the stable for the purpose of being harnessed. The irate *schwager*—for by a singular custom, German postilions are always addressed as the brothers-in-law of those whom they drive—would then bring them out again, one by one, with lusty kicks from his heavy boots, and uncouth curses in the guttural tones of his deep bass voice ; and we would at last resume our course with as much of consequential solemnity as could conveniently be assumed by the lumbering vehicle, the thick-legged and short-necked horses, and their equestrian statue-like driver, who all seemed to have deluded themselves into the belief that they were travelling uncommonly fast, at five miles an hour.

We were not always, however, passengers in public coaches, for we made a luckless experiment on the beautifully picturesque road which leads round the foot of the Maritime Alps from Nice to Genoa, where we fell into the hands of the *vetturini*, those Philistines of Italy.

It was a complete failure : we advanced more slowly than ever, we were cheated and pillaged on all sides, and the sum of our ignominy was fulfilled in the degrading sale of our persons and baggage by one vetturino to another for the paltry amount of ten francs. We had entertained a higher estimate of our intrinsic worth and moveable property, and our indignation knew no bounds : in our wrath we even lost sight of an honest regard for our signature to the bond, which we violently cancelled, and we returned to our hated velocifero, shorn of our illusions, and enriched with experience as continental travellers. The *vetturino*, nevertheless, was not without his merits, the greatest of them being the privilege of resting at night. After a long day's journey, we were sure of enjoying that sound sleep which is earned only by bodily fatigue ; sound, but light ; for it was merely physical repose that was required, and the mind was still awake, travelling onwards, climbing hills and crossing rivers with inexplicable facility, as if the resistance of matter had been annihilated ; and during the renovating prostration of the body, the spirit was active, its vigorous efforts being checked only by the fear of awaking.

To sleep, and to retain the consciousness of being asleep, is one of the most enviable conditions which a man can find himself in, when exhaustion has rendered him incapable of enjoying the exercise of his faculties, and dreamless slumbers are a loss of time in his life, depriving him of the sense of existence during a given number of the few hours he has to live, without renewing his energies for the possession of the remainder more effectually than is accomplished by the delightful surrender



of his person to that species of thoughtful somnolency, in which his bed appears to be made of rose-leaves, his pillow to have been smoothed by angels' hands, and his inn to be a resting-place in paradise after the weary, jolting, jogging, flogging, cheating, selling process of the great *vetturino*, human life.

Amongst the redeeming qualities of our Genoese coachman, must also be numbered that of his being a musician; he was a very Mario among the *vetturini*; and, as he urged his sorry nags along, he would warble in a fine tenor voice the "*a consolarei affretissi il giorno desiato*," of Linda di Chamouni with an *arpeggio* accompaniment of whip-cracking, most skilfully executed. We participated with considerable enthusiasm in the sentiment and moral of his song, but neither the "*desiato giorno*" of our arrival nor the *vetturino* and his horses seemed to advance one whit the more on that account. We were also fated to taste the sweets of railway travelling, but, like the repasts of the poor little scholars at Dotheboys Hall, we only enjoyed them enough to make us wish for more. It was between Verona and Venice; and, however favourable must necessarily appear the change from *vetturini* and *velociferi* to steam, we could not help remarking that this railway was worse managed than any of those we had seen in England, Belgium, France, Germany, and even at Naples. There were no porters, the stations were ill constructed, indications were not provided for the information of those who did not know where to go for their tickets or to find the waiting-room; and when any one did go wrong (as who would not?) a lazy official met him with an insolent

reproof, instead of civilly putting him right. Thus, between French, Italian, and German stage-coaches, Piedmontese *vetturini*, and a short interval by steam on land, as well as another on the Adriatic in crossing from Venice to Trieste, we reached the small town of Fiume in Croatia, where we stopped to take breath, for it was the first place we saw which was new to us, as it will probably be to most of my readers, if I ever have any.

Our journey hitherto had been dull and uninteresting on account of the want of that great attraction, novelty, although it cannot be denied that we enjoyed exceedingly the casual glimpses of delightful scenery and remarkable towns which were arrayed before us; and notwithstanding our premeditated susceptibility of being amused by everything that was capable of exacting merriment, we found little to enliven the tedium of our long pilgrimage. Trifling diversions to its monotony were, however, occasionally afforded us; and for them we were principally indebted to logical Custom-house officers, and reasoning examiners of passports, whose consequential stupidity sometimes compensated in matter for ridicule the inconveniences they entailed. The sciences of fiscal and political administration were indeed singularly illustrated by some of the interrogations which were gravely put to us: for instance, we had much difficulty in understanding the real motive and gist of the question, whether there were any salt hams or foreign cheeses in our carpet-bags and dressing-cases, which was addressed to our coachman at the gate of Genoa, for we could not doubt that some deep and mysterious meaning must be couched under the plain text of the official query; and our

astonishment was excited by the singular nature of the information which it was frequently required that we should supply with regard to our private circumstances in general, and the object of our present journey in particular; while the most wild and incoherent statements, produced by apparently inexplicable distortion of our replies, were formally recorded in the archives of several of the different States which we traversed, and will probably remain as everlasting monuments of British eccentricity, thus unduly ascribed to us.

At Milan, a dirty looking *douanier* opened a copy of one of Proudhon's most abominably subversive and democratical publications, which happened to be among my books, and asserted that he was well acquainted with that very harmless work, adding that after such a specimen of my travelling library, he could confidently take upon himself to answer to his superior for the innocuous character of the few volumes in my portmanteau; he then held out his hand to me for the wonted *zwanziger*, which however did not drop into it as he expected; for I took the liberty of laughing in his face as I locked my trunks on the declaration of the head officer that they might enter the capital of Austrian Italy without further impediment. The opening of one's luggage and the producing of one's passport half a dozen times a day are most aggravating, as they are not only troublesome and to a certain degree expensive, which latter result seems to be the only real utility of these absurd systems, by serving to levy a tax on foreigners, their avowed objects being evidently illusory, because those who smuggle never carry the prohibited goods where the



search is usually made, and those who have a motive for concealment are always the most satisfactorily provided with regular documents ;—but these inflictions suffered by strangers on the continent frequently entail serious inconveniences in obliging them to alter their plans for the purpose of obtaining the necessary signatures. We paid our tribute in trouble, in money, and in inconvenience : for besides undergoing the customary formalities in all their vexatious repetitions and minute-nesses, we were obliged to travel thirty miles out of our way to get to the *visa* of the Austrian Consul at Genoa, without which we could not have been received in Lombardy, and which could not be procured in any other town through which we passed.

We arrived at Fiume, at an early hour in the morning. We were in a state of complete demoralization, having spent a most fatiguing night in a coach. All our ardour and impatience to explore the first Hungarian town which we should reach, had disappeared under the inexorable exigencies of exhausted nature, and, before any of us were many minutes older, we were each comfortably extended on our beds, and fast asleep. The day was already far spent, and I was still in that delectable state of half-forgetfulness which retains alone the sense of well-being without rendering a very distinct account of the source whence it arises : I rejoiced in the cessation of jolting, and I wondered whether it was that the roads were unusually devoid of ruts, that the springs of the carriage had become singularly yielding by some happy process, or that the changing of horses was taking an unwonted length of time to effectuate ; but I was

suddenly aroused by the embarrassing question from my companion, if my note-book had been enriched by a plentiful harvest of poetical descriptions of Fiume and of practical remarks on its wants and resources. I had as yet seen nothing of Fiume but the four walls of the room in the hotel at which we had alighted, and not even that with both eyes open at once, I believe ; I disarmed all criticism by a frank avowal of my weakness, which I found to my great satisfaction had been fully shared ; and we proceeded on our first voyage of discovery in the unknown land whose frontier we had crossed at last.

The town of Fiume is situated in a narrow dell enclosed by gigantic cliffs, where the river Fiumara falls into the gulf of Quarnero, and forms a small port at its mouth. The water being shallow, the latter can receive only vessels of light draught, and larger ships are obliged to anchor in the roadstead. We saw a great many of all sizes ; several were on the stocks, and trade seemed to be active. Timber from the forests of Croatia, and grain from the plains of Bosnia, are, as I was told, the principal articles of export ; and Fiume is considered to be a position of some importance to the commercial interests of Hungary, to which country it was annexed in the year 1777, by the Empress Maria Theresa, out of gratitude for the support she received from her Magyar subjects in her adversities. It was three times taken possession of by the French, in 1797, 1805, and 1809, having remained in the hands of the Hungarians during the intervals between their short periods of occupation ; and at the peace of Vienna it was allowed to continue attached to France. Four years later the town was

bombarded by the English, who expelled its foreign masters, and after a couple of months, the banner of the Austrian eagle again floated over it. Count Nugent, an Irish gentleman now holding the rank of Field Marshal in the service of the House of Hapsburgh, and generally considered as a distinguished officer, was then made Governor of Fiume, but he was soon driven out of it by the French; they lost it in their turn a short time afterwards, and finally, at the conclusion of the continental war in 1815, it was secured to Austria. The Emperor Francis I. restored it, in 1822, to his Kingdom of Hungary, to which it has ever since continued to belong. Notwithstanding these vicissitudes, the place has steadily advanced in mercantile prosperity, the population has increased to 12,000, and several manufactories have been established, among which extensive works for sugar-refining and paper-making are the most remarkable.

The town is divided into two distinct portions, the more ancient of which is composed of a number of wretched houses, huddled together in narrow winding lanes on the slopes of the hill which stretches down towards the sea; and the other, which seems to be the fashionable quarter, the Faubourg St. Germain, or West-end of Fiume, lies along the sea-shore in broad and handsome streets, on either side of which we noticed dwellings that might almost be styled palaces, stately churches, a theatre, good shops, coffee-houses, and hotels. One of the most aristocratical residences which we remarked, was flanked by a line of short pillars of stone, each of them bearing a sculptured head repre-



senting the noble ancestors of its proprietor, whose family-portraits were thus displayed in the street, instead of being suspended in its halls. Some wore Hungarian caps; one, a cardinal's hat; and others, helmets; while several busts of females were carved with necklaces, earrings, and braided hair.

A broad quay covers the beach, and double rows of shady platanus and poplar-trees form an agreeable walk along the harbour, whose forest of masts, bare and slender, rise in striking contrast to the dense foliage on the growing timber. Straight stems of mountain-pine were lying about in process of transformation into spars, under the sharp axes of ship-carpenters; and bands of women were sitting with their busy needles intent on sewing enormous sails; all singing merrily as they plied their respective implements.

The promenade terminates in a public garden of considerable beauty, on the banks of the river, where the Austrian officers of the garrison idle away their time, the children of the rich merchants romp and play, and pretty Hungarian nursery-maids strive in vain to keep their attention undivided between the little boys entrusted to their charge, and those of riper years who follow their vocation for conquest on this peaceful field. When we reached the other end of the walk, we perceived the ruins of a castle, high perched on the summit of a precipitous cliff overhanging the town. This looked like something worthy of further scrutiny on the part of inquisitive travellers, but we reflected that it might be well to endeavour to obtain some information on the subject, before taking the trouble of climbing the rock.

I therefore accosted a person of respectable appearance who was passing, and requested him to tell me what that castle was. The single word, Tersatto, was all that I could elicit from him, and we were still almost as far as ever from the attainment of the object desired.

We returned to the town; and seeing a bookseller's shop, we entered it to enquire if anything had ever been published with regard to the Castle of Tersatto. The bookseller seemed to be a character in his way. He was a little old man, excessively thin and negligent in his dress, and of most forbidding aspect withal. He made no reply, nor did he raise his eyes from a musty folio when I addressed him. I supposed he was deaf, and I repeated my interrogation in a louder tone. He rose from his stool in a peevish and querulous manner, and commenced turning over a heap of what appeared to be the rubbish of years, lying in a dark corner of the shop. I concluded that I had not succeeded in making our wish intelligible in German, and that the quaint little old man paid no attention to us. An attempt at conversation in the Hungarian or in the Croatian dialect being altogether beyond the limits of my wildest ambition, I determined on trying my repulsive bookseller with Italian.

He then emitted a sort of growl, which I understood to be meant for the words, *Ja, Ja*; and he continued his search without taking any further notice of us, while we waited patiently for its result. At last he approached and put into my hand, not a traveller's guide-book, as we expected, nor a showy pamphlet such as is usually edited by speculators on the curiosity of strangers in places of local interest, but a queer old German quarto,

bound in vellum, covered with dust, torn, and much discoloured. On looking at the title-page, I ascertained that it was a full and particular account of the criminal trial and capital punishment of Count Frangipani, with the last speech and confession of the same, printed at Vienna in the year of our Lord 1671.

“And what has all this to do with the ruin on the hill?” I inquired of the bookseller, who had resumed his stool and his studies.

“All that is, why it is a ruin,” he answered, without looking up.

“Did the Castle belong then to Count Frangipani?”

“Ja, Ja.”

“And what was his crime?” I asked.

“Kossuth’s;” he replied, with Spartan laconism.

“What is the price of this old book?”

“It is not for sale.”

“Why did you show it then?”

“You did not ask to buy a book on Tersatto.”

There he was right, for I had merely inquired if any such existed. I presumed that his refusal to sell it was a stratagem to enhance the value of his merchandise, and I still hoped to gain possession of it; but he soon put a stop to my endeavours to negotiate by declaring that he would not give it for its weight in gold, as he believed it to be almost unique, and to be one of the most valuable among his literary curiosities. I then requested him to allow me to sit in his shop for an hour or two for the purpose of examining the book; and to this proposal he acceded by another Ja, Ja, uttered in a tone of undisguised impatience to terminate our dialogue.



I found that the Castle of Tersatto occupied the site of the ancient town of Tarsatica, which is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, and had been the feudal seat of the Counts Frangipani, the last of whom had headed a revolt of the Magyars against their government, and had forfeited his life on the scaffold in consequence, while his property had been confiscated.

The bulk of it did not ultimately fall to the Crown, however ; for a Franciscan convent, founded by the family close to the gate of the castle, produced a deed of donation which enriched the monks, notwithstanding that they belonged to a mendicant order, and that they had taken the vow of poverty as well as of seclusion from the world. The government did not dispute the right of the holy fraternity, and the castle alone remained in the possession of the Emperor.

I thanked the eccentric owner of the quarto, and we left his shop to make preparations for a pilgrimage to Tersatto, which was finally arranged for the following morning.

We were up betimes ; and after a hasty breakfast, we followed a winding road that led by an almost imperceptible ascent, to the heights behind the town. When we arrived at Tersatto, we found a person in the service of Count Nugent, who told us that the seignorial castle had been granted to his employer a few years ago by the Emperor, for the purpose of conferring on him the rank of an Austrian noble ; and having expressed our wish to inspect the ruins, we were ushered through the ancient portal with great civility by this modern seneschal. He informed us that the gallant Field Marshal

rarely visited his feudal fief of Tersatto, which he had no intention of rendering habitable during his life, but that he had resolved on making it his last resting-place. A vault was then shown us, where the future Nugents of the Austrian branch will be gathered, not to all their fathers, but to those who have founded this new lineage of an old family. The grotto was hewn in the solid rock, and our guide said that it had been constructed to serve as a dungeon in the time of the Frangipani; but, as a subterranean staircase, upwards of six hundred feet in depth, descended to the river, it appeared to be more probable that the vault had been used as a place of safety in extreme danger, whence a secret outlet was provided; or as a magazine for storing provisions which were introduced by the hidden passage during a siege. It was yet untenanted; but the mortal remains of one of the Nugents were waiting in a tower of the castle to be finally deposited in it; for the body of a nephew of the Field Marshal, who was killed at Brescia, where he held the rank of an Austrian Major-General in the late war with the Italians, had been conveyed hither for interment. Immediately over the vault, and in the centre of the court-yard, a small chapel was being erected. It was in the Doric style of architecture, with four columns supporting a pediment. One of the round towers had been converted into a museum, in which several admirable specimens of ancient sculpture, collected in Italy by Count Nugent, were tastefully arranged in rows of statues, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions. The remainder of the castle was quite dismantled, but several stairs had been restored in order to render every

part of it accessible ; and, the open spaces being laid out in flower-plots, the whole constituted as picturesque a ruin as can well be imagined.

The view from it was magnificent : in front lay the town ; beneath, the deep dell, through which the Fiumara flows, presented an aspect of singular beauty ; and a wide expanse of sea extended in the distance to the islands of the Quarnero, which bounded the horizon, with open intervals where the blue waters of the Adriatic stretched out as far as the eye could reach. The two Lossini, Cherso, Veglia, Arbe, Prossina, Unie, and an infinity of small rocks scarcely inhabited, form an archipelago of isles and islets, divided by narrow channels : wooded and green, they basked in the bright rays of the noontide sun, which sparkled on the clear surface of the liquid mirror around them ; and the white specks that glided along in different directions, added a charm to the prospect by attesting that life and activity were there in the busy coasting-trade of Fiume. Veglia, the largest of the Quarnero islands, had been a feudal possession of the Frangipani, and the entire population assumed the deepest mourning for the melancholy and patriotic death of the last of their lords ; black was the only colour worn by either sex, and it became a fashion of the place which has never been discontinued to the present day, although the memory of the object of grief has long since died away. Cherso and Ossero lie so near to each other, that at one point they are united by a bridge like that of the Euripus, between Eubœa and Bœotia ; and the same phenomenon of the varying levels of the water in the channel that exists at Chalcis, is visible also here. This



was the scene of the crime of fratricide, which the infamous Medea committed on the person of her brother Absyrtus, whose body she cut in pieces and threw out to be devoured by birds of prey, when she fled with Jason; and the town of Ossero was called Absirtion, by the ancient Greeks, in commemoration of the innocent victim of that monster of atrocity, who betrayed every duty and affection of human nature.

On the southern coast of the Quarnero, at a considerable distance, may be seen the town of Segna, whose history is singular: it was founded by the Galli Senoni, and it then belonged to the ancient Japidia. In the sixteenth century the Emperor Ferdinand assigned it as a refuge for the celebrated buccaneers, known by the name of *Uscoks*, who had rendered him efficient service in his war with the Turks, and it soon became a nest of freebooters, to which the outlaws of the neighbouring states repaired. But the Republic of Venice, whose trade suffered by their piracies, commenced a systematic persecution of the Segnani, and the latter claimed the protection of the House of Austria; a sanguinary war ensued; and, after two years of hard fighting, a peace was concluded, on condition that the *Uscoks* should be expelled from Segna, and their boats destroyed. We bestowed half-an-hour on a sketch of this extensive panorama from the court-yard of the Castle of Tersatto; and then we proceeded to the Franciscan Convent.

On reaching the church of Our Lady of Tersatto, we were accosted by a monk who spoke German: I requested permission to see the religious establishment, and he at once offered himself as our *cicerone*. As we

soon convinced ourselves that the building could lay but little claim to our attention on the grounds of architectural merit, we entered the church, and there the brother conducted us to see the miraculous image which makes it venerated in the country. Two small brass doors above the principal altar were opened, and, after ascending half-a-dozen steps, we saw the picture. The only parts of it now distinguishable are the faces of the Virgin and Child, the rest being covered with a plate of silver, and studded over with innumerable jewels and trinkets, which were *ex voto* offerings. They were not badly painted, as far as could be judged in their faded state; for the colours had disappeared, and nothing remained but light and shade; and they had attained that satisfactory condition so much affected by amateurs, when they subject the works of modern art to a course of premature old age in the kitchen chimney. We were triumphantly informed that this was the only true and genuine production of the pencil of St. Luke the Evangelist; and one of the frescoes in the church represented the Beloved Physician in the act of taking the portrait of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour in her arms, which, to say the least of it, was a gross anachronism.

A hermitage, according to the legend, was once established on the Monte della Guardia, near Bologna in Italy, by Azzolina, a daughter of the family of Guezi, to which the hill belonged. She built a small chapel and dedicated it to St. Luke. Seventeen years later, a hermit of Greece, by name Theocles, visited the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, in compliance with injunctions received by divine inspiration. He saw this

image in the Basilicon, and, after worshiping it, he read these words written beneath it by an unseen hand:—  
“This is the work of St. Luke, Chancellor of Christ, which is to be carried to the Church of St. Luke, built on the Monte della Guardia, and there to be placed on the altar.” Theocles thought himself elected for the mission, and inquired where the hill mentioned was situated, but no one could inform him. He then begged the picture of the priests of St. Sophia’s, declaring that he would travel all over the world in search of the Monte della Guardia, and he promised to bring back the image in the event of his never finding the place of its destination. His request was acceded to, after much difficulty, and he commenced his pilgrimage with the painting hung round his neck. He visited many parts of Greece in vain, and, having crossed the Adriatic, he went to Rome. There he learnt that a hill, called the Monte della Guardia, existed near Bologna, and that a church had been erected on it a few years previously in honour of St. Luke. He hurried to Bologna, found the hill and the church, and placed the picture on the altar. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, three centuries later, was assigned as the motive for the translation of the image, but it had then been removed a second time according to one version, although the Bolognese assert that they still possess the original, and that it was only a copy of it that Pope Urban V. presented to the monks of Tersatto in the year 1361. That donation, whether it be of the prototype or of a facsimile, was obtained in consequence of the veneration acquired by the popular belief that the identical house of the



Virgin Mary had rested at Tersatto for several days in its aerial flight from Nazareth to Loretto, where it is still worshipped by the faithful. A chapel of the same form had been built on the spot by a Count Frangipani, in 1031, and three centuries later a brotherhood of the order of St. Francis had been established there.

A number of peasants were walking round and round the altar muttering prayers to the miraculous image, some carrying small legs and arms of wax, which they suspended afterwards in the church as acknowledgments of the wonderful cures effected through the intercession of Our Lady of Tersatto; and others bearing paintings of ships in distress, which had been saved from wreck and loss by means of vowing to present her with so many candles. A few women were going the round on their bare knees, and all the persons in the church knelt when the first curtain over the altar was drawn at my request. I asked the monk, who showed us the image, if he really believed it to be eighteen hundred and fifty years old.

"Only seventeen hundred," he replied, with the magnanimous disinterestedness of a tradesman who sacrifices a part of his wares, in order the better to sell the remainder, and with the dogmatical insistence of an impostor who plunges headlong into a subject on which he is totally ignorant.

The monastery, which is comparatively a modern building, contains thirty of these holy beggars, who profess to live on the charity of the devout Fiumani. The character of their household arrangements, however, seemed far from being consistent with the principles

and precepts of their founder, St. Francis; and, had he foreseen the manner of their future application by his disciples, when he was struggling with the arch enemy on Mount Lavernia, in Tuscany, he would verily have allowed himself to be precipitated from the rock in despair, rather than thrust his hand into its hard substance, and by grasping it firmly, gain the victory, as was still attested when I was there some twenty years ago, by the marks of his four fingers and thumb;—they bore a singularly strong resemblance to those of a chisel, all the same. But there appeared to be a degree of comfort attendant on the profession of mendicity at Fiume, even when unaccompanied by the vow of monastic seclusion, for, in our rambles on the hill of Tersatto, we were beset by beggars of both sexes and of all ages, who displayed no tokens of great misery and want. It was in vain that we hoped to free ourselves from this persecution by stating the fact that we did not happen to have any small money about us; no sooner had we said so, than dirty hands were extended on all sides full of copper coin for us to change, which proved at least that they had the means of subsistence for many days, and that they were not suffering from any very aggravated attack of the gaunt malady, impecuniosity. There were some who belonged to the class of parochial or licensed mendicants; they sat on the way-side, neither looking at nor addressing the passers-by, but confining the expression of their penury to the rattling of halfpence in a tin-box with a hole in the lid like that of a till. It was a strange mode of requesting charity, as, instead of illustrating their destitute case, the impertinent pantomime

of the tin-box seemed rather to call attention to the number of pieces of money it contained.

We descended by a narrow path into a ravine thickly wooded with young oaks, but arid and desert; the want of water in the dry bed of a winter torrent occupying the bottom of the gulley seemed to be felt by every feature of the scene, as well as by ourselves, for we were devoured by thirst as we strolled around the crags. The leaves of the trees were shrivelled and drooping, the grass was brown and burnt up, the rocks were hot and white, the breeze appeared to issue from the mouth of an oven; it was desperately sunshiny. We passed a well, it is true, and I convinced myself of its efficiency as such by throwing stones into it, but the absence of mechanical means for drawing water from it only rendered the proximity of the cool element the more tantalizing. A rope was suspended over it, and we pulled most diligently at it, but we soon acquired the melancholy conviction that both its ends were totally bucketless, and altogether devoid of the least semblance of any recipient. We proceeded on our way, reasoning with ourselves as we went on this practical refutation of the philosophy of Diogenes, who threw away his cup when he saw a man drinking out of his clasped hands. The site was so magnificent, however, that we soon lost sight of the sufferings of our walk in the glories of the landscape unfolded before us, and we frequently sat down to recruit our energies, while we tranquilly enjoyed the varied and extensive prospect.

On returning to Fiume, our first care was gastronomical; then we lounged on sofas for awhile; and at



last we sallied forth again with sight-seeing intent. We found our way to a Roman arch, which is the only vestige still remaining of the occupation of this locality by the conquerors of the old world. There was neither an inscription, nor the slightest sculptural indication of its purpose, and it now spans one of the streets of the upper town, the supporting columns being built into the houses on either side.

It was in the second century before the Christian era that the first inhabitants of this country became subjects of the great republic. Who those first inhabitants were, seems to be uncertain: by some they are supposed to have been descendants of the Argonauts, who were led hither by Jason, previously to the abduction of Medea in Colchis, five hundred years before the foundation of Rome; which expedition proves, by the way, that the merit of first navigating the Danube as a passage from the Black Sea to Central Europe, does not belong to the Austrian Steam Navigation Company. Others contend that they were the posterity of those natives of Colchis, whom Absyrtus, the brother of Medea, brought with him; and it has also been suggested that they were a colony from the town of Istropolis, at the mouth of the Ister, or Danube, in the Black Sea, from which circumstance the territory lying to the west of Fiume derived the name of Istria. The arrogant ambition of the Roman Republic could ill brook a protracted peace; the restlessness of the people, and the policy of the Senate required a succession of conquests; a pretext for war must therefore be found, even if provoked by unjustifiable aggression. The young Prince Pineus reigned

at that time in Istria and Dalmatia under the guardianship of his mother Teuta. Pirates infested the neighbouring seas, and the traders of Rome complained to the Senate of their losses on that account. The island of Lissa, which was under Roman protection, demanded satisfaction for an alleged insult received at the hands of Teuta. Ambassadors were sent to her by the Senate to claim compensation for the real injury done to their commerce, and reparation for the fancied outrage committed on their ally. Lucius Coruncanius, who was the spokesman, treated the queen with so little respect that she ordered the Roman delegates to be put to death. A fleet sailed under Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and an army marched through Illyria, led by Lucius Postumius Albinus. Fortune favoured both expeditions; Teuta and her ward were obliged to retire to the mountains, leaving the coast at the mercy of the conquerors. A peace was concluded by which the kingdom was declared tributary to the republic, and Teuta was removed from the regency. The Romans appointed in her stead a certain Demetrius Farius, who had assisted them in the campaign against his country, but he soon betrayed them when they went to war with the Gauls, and he fought for their foes; he was defeated, and Pineus was then allowed to reign alone.

In the sixth century of Rome, another and a more serious war was declared between the tributary state and the Republic; the former was subjugated; and Epulus, the last king, stabbed himself rather than survive his fall. Colonies were planted by the victors, the principal of which was Pola, where I had an opportunity



of visiting the splendid remains of their edifices on a former occasion ; and the civilization of Roman customs and institutions was introduced among the natives, whom Livy represents as having been previously barbarous and cruel. They passed seven centuries under the protection of the Roman Eagle ; but, when the Venetian Republic commenced to lay the foundations of its future greatness, and when the invasion of the declining empire by the Huns, under Attila, and the Goths, under Theodorick, had devastated the intervening states, the Istrians thought to save themselves from the rising ambition of Venice, and the overwhelming incursions of the northern tribes by clinging to the Greeks of the Lower Empire. In the eighth century they fell under the sceptre of Charlemagne, who gave them a Duke to govern them. The Slavonians soon appeared and took possession of the country, incorporating among themselves the remains of the ancient races and tribes still occupying both Istria and Croatia, which finally passed under the domination of the House of Hapsburgh. The town of Fiume has thus belonged to Greeks, Romans, Slavonians, and to Germans, changing its name with its masters ; it was first called Vitopolis, then Rika, and finally St. Veit au Flaum, or Fiume.

From the Roman arch we proceeded to the Church of San Vito, the patron saint of the place. It is of circular form with a fine cupola, in imitation of the Church of Maria della Salute, at Venice, of which it is a miniature copy, rich in different-coloured marbles, and surrounded by altars profusely ornamented.

Having now seen everything worthy of attention

at Fiume, we returned to our hotel to make preparations for our departure on the following day. That hotel was, be it recorded *en passant*, most highly deserving of the notice of travellers, inasmuch as the three great *desideranda* were in considerable perfection; comfortable rooms, excellent fare, and moderate charges. It rejoiced in the name of the "Regina dell' Ungheria," and it was situated on the sea-shore for the convenience of families who come to Fiume from the interior of Hungary during summer, to enjoy the benefits of sea-bathing; and few places are more admirably adapted for the purpose, as it combines health, amusement, and economy.

## CHAPTER II.

PORTA UNGARICA—CROATIAN PEASANTS — LOUISENSTRASSE — DANGEROUS  
FOREST—CASTLE OF SZEVERIN—MISERABLE VILLAGES.

WE resumed our way in a carriage which we had hired from the post-master, and with a coachman who spoke only a few words of German. On leaving the town, our luggage, which had just been carefully packed and elaborately secured on the spacious foot-board behind, was unceremoniously scattered in the middle of the road by custom-house officers, and a rigorous search, for what we could not surmise, was incontinently commenced. The quarter of a two-shilling note, which I tore off for the purpose, soon put a stop to the whole proceeding, however, and after replacing trunks, portmanteau, carpet bags, and hat-boxes in heavy marching order, we did the same by our own respective persons, large and small, and moved slowly on by a gentle ascent through the narrow valley of the Fiumara, driving along the foot of the steep cliffs on which Tersatto stands. In one place they had been cut down to leave a passage for the road, rising abruptly to a considerable height on either side. This artificial defile is called the Porta Ungarica. An inscription in the Slavonic dialect of the country, carved on the smooth face of the rock, announced to us that we traversed here the boundaries of the celebrated

Ban Jellachich's jurisdiction, and that we now entered the ancient kingdom and modern province of Croatia. Below us, on the left, lay the paper works, which had been mentioned to us at Fiume, and which we now learnt were the property of an Englishman of the unavoidable name of Smith. They covered the whole space between the rocks and the river, and they were in excellent repair.

The banks of the Fiumara were prettily clothed with brushwood as we advanced, and a multitude of grey precipices broke the monotony of the thick foliage which spread over the rugged hills wherever there was sufficient soil for the roots of the shrubs to strike into. We passed several wild-looking peasants, armed to the teeth, who were sitting by the road-side at regular distances, and who presented an alarming image of the worst sort of banditti; but we found on inquiring that they were mere custom-house guards, posted there to detect smuggling from different points on the coast, and from the free port of Fiume. Others, having a scarcely less wicked appearance, though not so formidably equipped, drove their rude waggons laden with timber, fire-wood, or charcoal, towards the sea for exportation to Italy; their tight nether-garments of white woollen stuff, braided with blue or red cords, their clumsy Hessian boots, their embroidered jackets thrown over one shoulder, and their huge fur-caps, gave them a military air, well befitting the lawless troopers of Croatia, who were led by their well-known Ban to the assault of Vienna, two years ago; and some, in lighter vehicles of wicker work on four wheels, drawn by three or four small, but fiery horses,



evidently of an oriental breed, sat proudly on their bundle of straw, as they rushed past us on their way to Fiume, in search of more portable goods to convey thence to the inland towns of Croatia and Hungary.

We continued ascending hour after hour, and still we saw the zigzag course of our road rising higher and higher before us; the broken hills grew into rounded mountains, and the low shrubs gave place to lofty trees; and still we seemed to have much to climb, although a communicative milestone informed us, not only how far we were from Fiume, but also that we had mounted already two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The green-sward gradually disappeared, and the rough rocks increased in number and extent, until a perfect wilderness of barren and unfriendly aspect surrounded us on all sides. The road was admirable throughout; broad, smooth, skilfully engineered, and carefully kept. This was the great *Strada Ludovicea*, or *Louisenstrasse*, as the Germans call it. Before it was constructed, two others, the *Carolinen* and the *Josephinen Strassen*, served as the usual means of communication between Hungary and the sea-ports on the Adriatic, but neither of them offered the advantages of a secure and convenient mode of transport for the trade of the interior: an abortive attempt was made to render the navigation of the river Kulpa serviceable for this purpose, and when it failed, a number of Croatian Magnates united to form a Joint-Stock Company, under the patronage of Field Marshal Vukassovich, with the view of making a new road at a vast expense, and on a line presenting formidable difficulties.



Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, and the future Empress of Napoleon Buonaparte, was then a young girl, and being desirous of giving her name to a great work, in imitation of the Princesses after whom the other roads were called, she obtained for the Company important assistance, in consideration of which the new road received her name. It was commenced in the year 1803, and was completed in six years between Fiume and Carlovacz, a distance of eighteen German, or seventy-two English miles, at an outlay of nearly 300,000*l.* sterling; and it was made the post-road three years later, in lieu of the *Carolinenstrasse*.

I have crossed the Simplon, the St. Gothard, and the Ampezzo, all of which passages of the Alps are celebrated for the masterly style in which the greatest obstacles are surmounted; but I do not think that any one of them displays such a degree of skill in the tracing of the line, or of perfection in its execution, as the *Louisenstrasse*.

There is not the slightest danger on any part of the road; parapets have been raised wherever the height of the retaining walls is considerable, and protection from the furious winds of winter is provided at all the places which are exposed to them, by raising these parapets eight or ten feet above the level of the road. When the *Bora*, as it is called in the country, blows violently, the heaviest waggons remain for hours behind these walls waiting until it subsides, as nothing can withstand its force; and instances have occurred when they have been upset by a sudden blast if their drivers ventured too soon beyond the shelter prepared for them; while pedestrians are often obliged to lie down at the foot of

the parapets to escape being blown over the cliffs, and travellers have been found frozen to death in this position on cold winter nights.

Large cisterns have been built on the road-side to collect rain water and preserve it during the summer for the use of waggoners and their horses where springs are wanting, and houses of refuge have been raised, in which those who are benighted, or overtaken by storms, can find an asylum. The whole enterprise has been efficiently conducted, and it has also proved to be an excellent investment of money, as it produces an abundant return from the toll-bars. Some of the winding passes, in which the road is scooped out of the perpendicular flanks of the mountain, at a height of two hundred feet above the abyss which it overhangs, have been planned with a degree of bold ingenuity that must have been both difficult and dangerous to carry out; and we were told that in boring the first mines of several of them, the workmen were suspended by ropes to ply their crow-bars, and that some had lost their lives on such occasions by the breaking of the ropes and other accidents; a mere trifle, when compared with the 100,000 men sacrificed every three months in the erection of the pyramid of Cheops, which has never been so useful as the turnpike road of Maria Louisa.

We passed the village and castle of Grobnick, perched on the summit of a hill to our left. The inhabitants, in default of arable land on which to exercise their industry, are almost exclusively woodsmen and carpenters, and they are reputed most skilful in the latter calling in the neighbouring towns, to which they migrate annually

in search of work, returning periodically with their earnings in the shape of grain to support their families during winter. A little further on, however, we crossed a small plain, called the Grobnerfeld, which is comparatively devoid of rocks, and there the diligent woodcutters have established a scanty cultivation, apparently poor in produce, and certainly inadequate to their subsistence. After leaving it, we commenced another long ascent, which raised us a thousand feet more above the level of the sea. This was the highest point of the Kapella Gebirge, and we had no sooner reached it than a new scene opened before us, and the surrounding country assumed a totally different character from that of the barren heights over which we had passed. A broad expanse of hill and dale, green and wooded, fresh and smiling, extended far and wide; rich meadows, fertile fields, and neat enclosures, came in pleasing succession to the bleak inhospitable region which we had left behind and below us, and this fair landscape of Alpine beauty derived an additional charm in our eyes from the sudden and unexpected contrast. The verdure of the grassy banks was gemmed with wild flowers in the most varied profusion. The scarlet amaryllis grew on the damp soil, where tiny streamlets trickled, glittering in the sunshine for a moment, and then disappearing under the sombre shade of mountain pines. The pale pansy of the woods peeped from behind the feathery leaf of the fern; wild roses clung to the hawthorn bushes of the untrained hedges; and the small red strawberries, soon detected on their lowly beds of moss and weeds, tempted us more than once to alight and gather them in handfuls.



The trees, that studded the rising grounds, were of gigantic growth, and so thick-set, as they clustered on the summits of the green hillocks, that these natural plantations seem to be impenetrable. They were laid out, as it were, in the most tasteful manner, and, in some places where they descended in well-rounded forms upon the smooth and undulating lawns of the valley, a handsome country house was alone wanting to complete the resemblance to an English park; while they possessed that brilliant variety which is attained by scientific planters only, through a skilful mixture of deciduous trees with the predominant masses of firs, pines, and other evergreens. The different tints, which displayed a pleasing contrast between the bright foliage of the noble platanus, chestnut-tree, and mountain-ash, and the rich dark raiment worn by the numerous kinds of abies, gave an appearance of lightness and luxuriance to the general effect, that might have afforded a profitable subject of study and admiration to the Loudons and Stuarts of England and Scotland; and the young birch-wood, intermingled with nut-bushes on the heights, and with willows in the hollows, was disposed in inimitable groups and clumps, fresh from the hand of that matchless landscape gardener, Nature. We drove for a couple of hours through this lovely sylvan scene, which in my opinion far surpasses anything that is to be met with in Switzerland or the Tyrol.

We passed several small villages, composed of log-huts like those of America, roofed with thin and narrow planks. I entered one of them when our coachman stopped to water his horses: it was inhabited by a



numerous family of half-savages, besides two small red cows and four or five long-haired and shaggy goats; a large boiler was suspended by a chain from the roof over a fire in the centre of the hovel, and hungry children were crouching around it in an atmosphere of thick smoke; while an old woman prepared their meal of boiled chestnuts and onions, grumbling and scolding in strange uncouth accents as she brandished her huge wooden spoon: two men, who lounged at the low door-way, were tall, robust, and handsome. The Croatians are considered to be remarkable for their fine eyes, but, though certainly large and full of expression, especially those of the young mother of the family in the cottage, who entered it with an immense load of hay on her back, and a hoe in her hand, as I was leaving it, they appeared to me to have too much of fierceness and cruelty in their quick glance to entitle them to the reputation of great beauty. The two peasants at the door were both armed with long guns, and each of them had his woodman's axe over his shoulder, as the cutting of timber and firewood, and the burning of charcoal, seem to occupy more of their time than the exercise of husbandry, which is left almost exclusively to the women. On the whole, they were men whom it was more agreeable to meet at their cottage-door, than it would have been in the forest alone, for they looked as if they were quite as much accustomed to use their guns as their axes; and both for purposes less innocent than those of woodcutting.

An incident occurred while we were dining at the neighbouring village of Merslavoditza, which was intended to have enlightened us on this subject, but we continued

nevertheless in our happy state of innocent ignorance, fortunately for our tranquillity of mind, during the greater part of our day's journey. As we were sitting down to dinner, a respectably dressed person appeared in a *soi-disant* frock-coat; he bowed low, and commenced making us a speech, of which I did not comprehend a single word; the strange sounds which he emitted, having left me in doubt even as to what language he had been speaking. I hazarded a reply in German; and I intimated that I had not the good fortune to understand the Croatian, or indeed any other of the different Sclavonian dialects, and that, unless he could speak German to me, our intercourse, however otherwise desirable, must be unavoidably restricted to a repetition of the courteous inclination of our persons, which we had already exchanged. My unintelligible interlocutor blushed deeply, and stammered a few words, among which I thought I could distinguish a declaration that he was a German, and that he had been, and still was, speaking German. It was now my turn to blush, for I rather piqued myself on my proficiency in that tongue; and my mortification at not having even recognised the language on which I prided myself most, was equal to my astonishment at so unexpected a discovery of the imperfection of my acquirements in this line. Added to that, were the taunts of my merciless companion, who had also caught the meaning of the gentleman's last words, and no quarter was given me with regard to the ridiculous figure I was cutting. With humbled confidence in my own powers as a linguist, I requested the German, since German he was, to have the goodness again to communicate the

motive which had procured me the honour of his visit. He then began another apparently most eloquent harangue, which, however, was as provokingly obscure to my intellect as his first address had been; and, for the life of me, I could not obtain the slightest cue to the meaning of what he had said. Perceiving the state of the case, he added gesticulation to vociferation, his manner became quite frantic, he repeated his words over and over again, when I asked him what they signified; but still I could make nothing of his discourse.

“Have you understood anything more of the conversation, now?” asked in English my *vis-à-vis* at the other end of the table, with an aggravating smile, while the two roguish little faces on either side of it were heartily laughing at me.

“Nothing beyond what I have said myself,” I replied in despair.

I had understood, however, if not the communication which had been made to me, at least, the reason why I could not comprehend it. A curious sort of hiccup, introduced in place of the consonants, and leaving the words to run into each other in a long variation of open vowels, had explained to me at last that the unfortunate individual was afflicted with what is called a hare-lip of the worst description; and, although the physical mal-conformation was ably masked without by a bushy pair of mustachios, the total absence within of the usual partition, separating the olfactory organs from those of speech, rendered his means of oral communication with his fellow-creatures extremely limited and imperfect. Under such circumstances, I gave up all hope of ever



obtaining from himself an explanation of the subject on which he desired to talk with me, and I called for the people of the inn, who, I thought, might be habituated to his peculiar pronunciation; but not one of them could speak a single word of any language except Croatian. I sent for the coachman; he made some progress, in so far as he ascertained that the luckless owner of the hare-lip was the overseer of that part of the *Louisenstrasse*, and that he had something to say to us as travellers, but it was not in his power to elucidate the matter further, as he, being a Styrian, was not well acquainted either with German or Croatian. During this attempt at interpretation, the animation and excitement of our lively friend became quite fearful; but it was all in vain—his pantomimic efforts still remained apocryphal, and his “*Mene, mene, tekel upharsin*” found no Daniel to expound it. We, therefore, abandoned the project of gaining any information from the inexplicable gentleman, who withdrew, shrugging his shoulders most resignedly; and, dismissing it from our minds, as the fox did the grapes, with the professed conviction that the information could not be worth having, we thought no more about it until late in the day, when a tardy light broke upon us, and solved the mystery after it was too late to take advantage of what we might, perhaps, have succeeded in learning with a little more perseverance.

The mistress of the inn was a comely and good-humoured dame; the waiting-maid was smart and pretty, and the dress of both was picturesque; their smile of welcome was never absent from their ruby lips and their rosy-dimpled cheeks; and that, we thought, was



an unerring proof of their happy nature, for a laugh may come from the head, but a smile can only emanate from the heart. In short, we congratulated ourselves on being amongst an honest people of the mountains, patriarchal and unsophisticated in their manners, and so primitive in their display of cordial hospitality, that I almost felt ashamed to ask for our bill. We had partaken of a wretched dinner, which had, notwithstanding, appeared delicious, after the kind alacrity with which it had been prepared; and we were communing with ourselves with respect to the probability of our hostess condescending to accept of any pecuniary offering, when we were suddenly disenchanted by a spontaneous demand, at least equal to the sum which would be charged at Véry's in the Palais Royal for the most sumptuous and dainty repast. I ventured on some deprecatory remarks, which bordered on positive censure, but every one then seemed to understand less German than ever; the coachman ostentatiously called for his bill also, when he saw what was passing, and he took some money from his pocket. I complained to him, and he declared that he was equally the victim of rapacity, as the claim made against him was no less exorbitant; and, seeing that the evil was irremediable, I disbursed the amount required, and proceeded towards the carriage. I happened to look back, however, and I perceived the coachman returning his money to his pocket with a wink to the landlady, who advanced and gave him his share of the spoils. This was our mountain people—untainted by the sullyng contact of corrupt society, preserving in their remote corner of the earth all the purity of the

golden age, and passing their innocent existence in the primeval simplicity of our first parents before the fall!

We continued our journey, with the unsatisfactory consciousness of being laughed at for our greenness, robbed of our illusions, and pilfered of our money. The country around us still for some time presented the same shifting scenes of picturesque beauty, until at length the woods alone predominated, and we found ourselves travelling through a wild, and, apparently, interminable forest. I began to recollect some of the sounds which had issued from the hare-lip of the overseer; and the words, "*ungeheüere waldungen*" rang in my ears. I reflected that these must be the immense woods which he had spoken of, if he really had made use of that expression; I next mentally recurred to the remark, "*Schlächte leute*," and I concluded, that supposing he had made that remark, he might have alluded to the people of the inn, who had afterwards proved that they were bad enough in all conscience; but, perhaps, other bad people whom he knew might cross our path, and then the monosyllables "*sehr spät*" also returned to my memory as having repeatedly formed part of his speech; and I now observed that the day was indeed far spent. Whilst I was thus ruminating on the possible analogies between the hare-lip and our present position, we met a sort of stage-coach, and, after looking with some curiosity at its inmates, who seemed to gaze at us with more, we saw an accessory following it, which at once removed all doubts from my mind as to the gist of the overseer's discourse. This was a light peasant's waggon, drawn by three horses, and containing four Austrian soldiers,

with their firelocks in their hands and their bayonets fixed. Now the enigma was read, and the Sphinx of Merslavoditza was provided with an Œdipus. My companion, who had comprehended nothing about the "immense woods," the "bad people," and the "very late" hour, came to the same conclusion as myself, at sight of the stage coach travelling with a strong guard. The truth flashed across our brain in all its horror. Fortunately, the little boys had no suspicion of the circumstances in which they and we were placed, and, like incorrigible chatterboxes as they are, they kept talking, and laughing, and singing, as if their hours were not numbered. What was to be done? We were about half-way between Merslavoditza and a roadside inn, where we had purposed sleeping. We had been in the forest for upwards of two hours, and it might be as dangerous to return after nightfall as to proceed. The stage-coach must have gone a considerable distance by that time, and it would have been impossible to overtake it, with the view of placing ourselves under the protection of the four fixed bayonets.

We determined, in our council of war, that we had no better course to follow than pushing on to our sleeping-place. The coachman was sitting whistling on his box. He looked quite as apt to play into the hand of a bandit as into that of the landlady at our last inn. Every tree seemed to screen a long gun, and every branch appeared to serve as a rest for its muzzle. We were beginning to feel very uncomfortable. The evening was closing fast. We reflected, however, that swindlers are not always highwaymen, and we resolved on trying



to gain our driver over to our cause. I asked him how long he would take to convey us to the inn, and he replied, that it could not be done under two hours. We had still about an hour before us ere it could be quite dark. I therefore employed the most persuasive of all arguments to induce him to quicken the speed of his horses, and told him that, if we arrived before night, his "*trinkgeld*" should be doubled. This had the desired effect; and off we started at a brisk pace, after sundry vigorous applications of the lash. Compassion for the dumb animals had given place to apprehension for the safety of those more or less endowed with reason. Our only resource was in their strength, and it was evidently waning, for they had been jaded by the long ascent; but they must needs pull us on, and that as fast as possible. The country still surrounded us with scenes of the wildest beauty. Every thing combined to complete the most perfect image of picturesque sublimity; and that, at a time when we felt least inclined to admire it. The broken nature of the ground, the deep chasms on our right, the rugged precipices on our left, and wherever the eye was turned, the undulating ocean of inexorable woods, which we were navigating with the awful prospect of shipwreck at every plunge we made into its depths, oppressed us with a sense of mingled despair and admiration. My companion, too, not satisfied with these delectable feelings, would keep constantly attracting my attention to the wild flowers on the roadside, which, like treacherous syrens, worked upon our botanical predilections to entice us to our ruin by tempting us to stop and pluck them; but I armed myself



against the blandishments of the coquettish Flora, by calling to the coachman to hurry on; and then I had to bear all the lamentations of the disappointed herbalist, which were uttered in a tone so piteous, that I suspected they were indulged in more as the outpourings of a terror-stricken soul than as the genuine expression of scientific longings.

At last, when night was succeeding to twilight, and when every object around us, whether terrible or lovely, was being blended in one dark shroud which seemed to descend like a pall on our doomed little party, the carriage suddenly stopped, the door was violently thrown open, and the botanist fell into a paroxysm of unmis- takeable fear. But, instead of the truculent scowl of a brigand, the triumphant smile of our coachman met our anxious gaze, as he announced that we had arrived. Arrived where? We were still in the forest. The trees seemed to crowd around us, and to peer over our heads in every direction, as if laughing at our alarm. There we were, at the door of a house, sure enough; but the house was a lonely building in the heart of the woods. Our excited imaginations, and especially that of my companion, found ample scope for unwholesome exercise in every new incident of this luck- less day's journey. The inn was cleanly, but it had certainly not been much frequented of late—therefore, it could only be a robber's den; the floors were uneven—they must contain trap-doors; and the three chamber- maids were tall, hoarse-voiced, long-stepping, and hard- featured—*ergo*, they were men in women's clothes. Such an adventure would have been a godsend to Mrs. Ann

Radcliffe. We carefully examined our rooms, tried the locks of our doors, and even bruised our knuckles by knocking on all the walls, to ascertain whether or not they returned a hollow sound. Being much in want of bodily nourishment, I went to ask for dinner or supper—I could not specify which, as a lively representation of the act of eating was the only way in which I could make my wishes understood; and the sole reply I received was a ghastly attempt at a laugh, amounting to a hideous grimace, accompanied by a hoarse sepulchral sound, on the part of the three stalwart beldames forming the domestic staff of the establishment. When I returned to our rooms, I occupied myself with my note-book for some time, but, happening to look up, I could not help laughing when I saw my persevering botanist arranging with the greatest care all the weeds collected during the day in a much-valued *hortus siccus*. The two children also presented a characteristic tableau: fatigued by their long day of continual animation, they had fallen asleep on a mattress, locked in each other's arms. I remarked that they put me in mind of a print in Boydell's Shakespeare, representing Edward the Fifth and his little brother in the Tower of London. The door was just then suddenly and violently thrown open; great trepidation ensued, which I had some difficulty in tranquillizing; and, instead of Sir James Tyrrell and his accomplices, in helmets and coats of mail, with a huge feather-bed in their murderous grasp, we beheld the three large chambermaids enter in procession. The first carried an enormous wooden bowl full of milk, the second brought a great black loaf of bread, and the third followed with

some wooden spoons in one hand and an alarming knife, like the two-edged *skene* or dagger of the Scotch Highlanders, in the other. This was our supper. The result was more satisfactory than we expected on the display of such rustic fare; we were hungry, and we thought we might have fared worse if we had not reached the inn, which was a strong argument in favour of our present position; and we resolved on seeking repose after so much excitement. We accomplished a scientific experiment of hermetically sealing ourselves in our rooms, with the view of excluding unwelcome visitors, and we passed the night without further cause for apprehension, although we all suffered a good deal from cold. Our dreams were in harmony with our waking thoughts; and when strange sounds in an unknown tongue, and with most unmusical voices, mingled with the wild fancies conjured up by strong impressions, and seemed a continuation of the imaginary disasters which respectively befell us, we sprang up, rubbing our eyes and feeling our limbs, as if to convince ourselves that we had not really suffered in succession all sorts of violent deaths. We did not understand what was said, but the day was breaking, and we concluded that we were informed of our coachman being ready to commence another pleasure excursion in the Croatian forests. We proceeded however on our way with more confidence, and whatever the real danger might be, the apparent fear was certainly less than it had been on the previous day; but then the sun was well up when we left the forest hostelry, and the Herculean Hamadryads who tended it; and there is nothing more encouraging to your nervous and hysterical persons than



broad daylight ; a bright ray of sunshine is the best possible remedy for *kleptophobia*, if such a word may be coined ; and it is only in a doubtful twilight that bushes cease to be bushes and become brigands, and that branches assume the condition of blunderbusses. At noon, life passes at its current worth, nature wears her own face, and masked phantoms vanish. Thus we travelled cheerfully until the evening, without accident or obstacle, real or visionary ; we descended gradually from the mountains, left the forest far behind us, and reached the small village of Skrad.

The first person who presented himself to us, was a colleague of our Merslavoditza friend ; he was also a German, and fortunately his lips were in a less abnormal state. He expressed much surprise at our arrival, unprotected and yet unharmed ; and he asked if the other overseer had neglected his duty of apprising us of the dangers to which we would be exposed, as the company instructed their agents to do. I answered that the company should reflect that eligibility for such a post must necessarily include the gift of speech, without which, the fulfilment of its philanthropic duties becomes exceedingly difficult, not to say impossible : and I stated the particulars of our interview with the hare-lip, which excited the most uncharitable fit of laughter on the part of the Skrad functionary. He then proceeded to relate various recent instances of highway robbery which had been perpetrated in that forest, through which we had passed unmolested, several of them having been accompanied by grievous bodily injury to the sufferers, and one or two by uncompromising murder.



Skrad, like Merslavoditza, was merely an assemblage of peasants' huts, with three or four good houses, one of which is the inn and another, the office of the overseer of the road, and the remainder, the dwellings of government foresters, as the wood on these mountains is chiefly the property of the State. We made our bargain for our lodging and meals, and we found that that precaution, hitherto overlooked by us in Croatia, although so much recommended to travellers on the continent by authors of guide-books, secured us from further imposition in that respect. We were somewhat amused, however, by the ingenious device which was practised at Skrad for the purpose of compensating the loss of a better opportunity to pillage strangers; I was asked by the inn-keeper if I wished that the carriage should be deposited in a place of safety for the night, and I readily concurred with the proposal in consideration of our luggage, which remained in and on it; a formidable item was consequently annexed to our bill for its lodging; and to judge by the amount, better accommodation seemed to have been provided for the vehicle than for its occupants. At the same time, the exquisite cleanliness which we everywhere remarked in these humble hostelrys, together with the unvarying signs of respect that were shown us by people of all classes, who took off their hats to us on every occasion, induced us to forgive the little tricks played off on us, and to forget the alarm inspired by their marauding propensities. This courtesy towards strangers, on the part of a peasantry characterised generally as being half-savage and wholly lawless, indicated at least that they are still in a happy state of ignorance with reference

to the doctrines of *Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité*, which are so fast hurrying one of the hitherto great nations of Europe to the uttermost verge of perdition. It was the 15th of June when we passed the night at Skrad, and yet it was so cold that we all shivered as if we were in the ague-fit of an intermittent fever, whose last period had reached its climax during our sultry walk from Tersatto, and was still fresh, or rather hot, in our memory; and indeed, to persons living in Italy, and desirous of avoiding the heat of a southern summer without going to a great distance, there are few places which could be more suitable for a short residence than the Highlands of Croatia, especially if the enjoyment of picturesque scenery be an object to them.

On leaving Skrad, we continued our long descent, for the line of road had been gradually falling ever since we passed the lofty summit of the Snizniak, or Snow Mountain. The Ogulinerkopf now rose before us, and we followed the course of a small stream which winds through a lovely valley at its foot, and seeks its way to the river Kulpa. There was more and better cultivation to be seen around than we had yet met with in Croatia, and two villages, which we drove past, by name Szleme and Sernovatz, bore evidence of greater industry on the part of their inhabitants than was displayed in the retreats of the mountain Robinhoods, whose personal acquaintance we had so narrowly escaped the honour of making. After entering the romantic vale of the Dobra, we passed Moravicze, a colony of Serbs, and Lucon, another small community, and we now saw vineyards for the first time in Croatia. We stopped to dine at

Szeverin, which had once been the feudal seat of a count ; but when we cast a glance on the miserable hotel where our coachman pulled up, we understood that our chance of obtaining a comfortable repast was still less propitious than it had been at our forest inn. To heighten our sense of disappointment, we had at last found an exception to the Croatian rule of cleanly neatness which had here given place to the most implacable filth within doors. The host, who led us into the common eating room, was an unpleasing old man with one eye, who seemed to belong to that class of society from which waggoners are drawn, and of which our own charioteer appeared to be the Corypheus, for he had already seated himself at the head of a long unclothed and dirty table, around which some ten or twelve of his compeers were smoking and drinking, while his horses were left to the tender mercies of a boy not more than nine years old, who filled the office of ostler. The nauseous and revolting smell of bad tobacco and worse wine, the coarse and loud sounds of drunken jocularly, and the inauspicious sight of flushed faces and disordered dresses, suggested the propriety of an immediate retreat. The tavern-keeper, dreading the loss of such unwonted customers, followed us with eloquent assurances of the excellent fare he could place before us, and as we did not comprehend the names of the dishes he enumerated, we were easily convinced, like country judges when special pleaders quote Latin. Before the door we espied a noble beech-tree with a seat of turf around its stem, and there we directed that the delicate collation should be prepared for us.



We proceeded in the mean time to explore the country. The valley of Szeverin was green and wooded, rich in natural meadows, and varied by clumps of birch and mountain-ash, scattered about in lovely groups, with single trees occasionally standing out from their ranks like generals marshalling armies; and the hills, which enclosed on every side this brilliant scene, were covered with gigantic forests, and undulated so gracefully, that they seemed an immense garland encircling the fair brows of smiling nature.

The little boys had run on in front, and we heard their merry laugh as they scampered about among the trees and bushes; a loud shout of joy, and then a shrill scream of terror immediately after it, made me hurry forward; and I met them racing back to us as fast as their little legs could carry them, pale, trembling, and breathless. They had found a bank of strawberry-plants, whose bright fruit sparkling under the leaves appeared a very California of countless wealth to them; but they had scarcely attempted to collect their treasure, when they discovered an infinity of snakes, nestling on the ground in coils, or slowly dragging their tortuous length from the shade to bask in the noontide sunshine. Wiser than their first parent Eve,—less precocious than the baby Hercules, who first came out in the infant-phenomenon-line by strangling his two serpents when he was only eight months old, as an earnest of his subsequent unparalleled success in a similar part with the Hydra of Lerna,—and by no means emulous of Cleopatra and her asp,—my youthful heroes took to their heels, and never stopped until they had reached us, as if



they thought a whole legion of creeping things were pursuing them.

When reinforced, however, by our presence, they faced about, and boldly took us to the spot. Such a Pandemonium never existed! St. Patrick himself could scarce have "bothered all the varmint" here, whatever he may have done in Ireland. The reptiles of Croatia seemed to have repudiated the supremacy of "that ould sarpint" at Vienna, and to be holding their "*assemblée constituante*," in the woods of Szeverin.

We left them to their patriotic labours, and walked in the direction of a castle that appeared at a short distance, on the brink of a thickly planted declivity of considerable height, and overhanging the river Kulpa. On approaching it we recognized all the features of an ancient seignorial residence, with its gardens, its park, and its covered gateway; but, as it bore a somewhat dilapidated aspect, we concluded that it was now uninhabited, and finding the great iron door ajar, we ventured to penetrate into the inner quadrangle. Here we were met by half a dozen Croatian peasants, who addressed us civilly enough, but as none of them could speak German, we remained in ignorance of their meaning. One word we did understand, however, and as that word was *Gospodia*, or Lord, we inferred that the master of the house was living in it, but no one having shown the slightest symptom of hospitable intentions, we supposed that we had been invited to evacuate the place.

We were soon convinced that the castle was occupied, for on quitting it, we looked round the interior of

he court, which offered an almost Oriental aspect, with its slender columns and verandahs; and we saw at one of the windows two faces, over which no more than sixteen or seventeen summers could possibly have passed; and they were faces which looked as if they had no objections to being admired either. Their appearance was that of young ladies of good family, and as they seemed to gaze at us with the greatest curiosity, we conjectured that the holder of the castellany was a cross old Argus of a papa, who kept his fair daughters immured within these unsociable walls, which we straightway left. We strolled along the ridge of the high bank of the Kulpa, and at last sat down on some broken rocks which bounded our path, to rest ourselves and enjoy the view. The river swept majestically along towards the plain of Carlovatz; not a hidden shoal or the slightest breath of air ruffled its tranquil surface. Had its stream been always so serene from its source in the rugged mountains of Croatia? And would its onward course to join the Save and then the Danube still continue as untroubled and as calm? My companion likened its appearance at Szeverin to a life, between a past not untinged with painful recollections, and a future full of doubts and fears, and sighed for a peaceful existence such as this, beyond the reach of that world, so niggard of its smiles, and so lavish of its frowns, adding that the only possible happiness is the absence of grief,—

“And of hunger!” I exclaimed, for the hour which had been prescribed for our feast under the beech-tree was past, and the wants of nature, unrefreshed, were

becoming imperative. We returned to our inn, and installed ourselves on the turf seats in expectation of the promised repast. While waiting for it, a poor old woman, the very picture of misery, approached us with a garrulous petition for charity, less intelligible than the eloquent appeal of her eyes and attitude. We asked the innkeeper for the change of an Austrian bank-note, in order that we might give her something, but he stared in astonishment at such an idea; coin had not been seen at Szeverin for many months. He took the note, tore it in four pieces, and bade us give the old woman one of them if we were so disposed, as it amounted to only a penny; the whole sum represented by this class of paper currency was ten kreutzer, and by the present custom of the people, each fraction of it has the value of the corresponding proportion of the sum. Her gratitude was as voluble as her supplication had been, and this time our knowledge of the Slavonian dialects enabled us to distinguish two words, which were *Velikoi boga!* or God is great! What a state a country must be in, when no medium of exchange exists for the articles of smaller worth, of which the wants and resources of the greater part of the population necessarily consist. That specie should have totally disappeared in Austria, must surely be a symptom of the speedy dissolution of the Empire; and one is even at a loss to comprehend how society can hold together at all, and not fall asunder by a violent convulsion, when its humbler and more numerous classes have no equivalent to convey the exact amount which they have daily to pay or receive in their petty trades and transactions. As we were sitting, for



instance, *sub tegmine fagi*, two young girls passed with a basket of wild strawberries, culled probably in some garden of the Hesperides, where no dragons watched, and we thought it might be acceptable as a dessert after the meal we were about to partake of: we succeeded in communicating to them our proposal to purchase their whole stock in trade, and they intimated the amount of their demand with many smiles on their little sunburnt faces, and by the aid of their little dirty fingers; but it was utterly impossible to meet it with any degree of precision, and as the alternative was naturally in their favour, being between a greater and a smaller sum than what they claimed, they danced off with their empty basket, shouting with delight at having realised so fair a profit on the exchange of their fragrant merchandize for a fragment of well-thumbed paper representing more than its current value.

The inn-keeper now brought us our much-vaunted dinner in earthenware, on a wooden tray, the whole being colourless from the secular accumulation of filth. As for the contents of the disgusting vessels, they consisted in a greasy mixture with slices of cucumber floating on its surface, ambitiously styled, by the host, soup; a savory mess of onions fried in a liquid sauce of rancid oil; and an offensive stew of tripe, swimming in an ocean of melted hog's lard. The inspection was soon completed, and, as none of these dainty dishes could pass muster, we fell back on our reserve, the strawberries, and told the crest-fallen cook that he might eat the produce of his *cuisine* himself, while we would be satisfied with our dessert. He soon recovered



his self-respect however, when he found himself called upon to supply information on the subject of the castle; and for the credit of the Croatian aristocracy be it recorded, that its unhospitable occupant was not the *bonâ fide* representative of the ancient feudal family of Ortshitsh, to which it belonged, but a banker of Vienna, a creditor of the noble Count, who had obtained a life-rent of the estate in lieu of a debt, while the heir of entail was serving in the army in expectation of his inheritance.

Having now nothing further to detain us at Szeverin, we soon got packed into our carriage, and we travelled, during the remainder of the day, through a country still beautiful, but of a much tamer character than that which we had hitherto seen in Croatia. There was abundant cultivation; the crops of wheat were full and heavy, the fields of potatoes and beans were well hoed, and clumps of trees were interspersed with the arable land in rich profusion, giving an appearance to the landscape much resembling that of the midland counties of England. The enclosures, especially, were remarkable, as they consisted chiefly of well-trimmed hawthorn hedges, and hedge-row trees were alone wanting to complete their similarity to those of our own most careful farmers. We observed, even here, that women alone were engaged in agricultural labour, as in the higher and less cultivated country through which we had passed; while the men seemed to occupy themselves only in driving wood and charcoal on the roads, which were covered with long lines of waggons thus laden and descending to the plain. The villages were miserable

beyond description. They generally consisted of a group of wretched wooden huts, surrounded by a high paling to protect them. Uncombed, half naked children were wallowing in the mire before the doors, together with pigs and poultry. No churches or schools were visible; the only dwellings of a better class were those of the overseers of the lord of the soil; and the whole presented an image of squalid barbarism, that told a sad tale of the mediæval condition of society still existing in Europe in the nineteenth century. The names of these practical anachronisms were Glavicza, Vukova Goricza, Pritishe, Jelsza, and Dubovacz.

## CHAPTER III.

CARLOVACZ — CROATIAN REGIMENTS OF JELLACHICH—SCLAVONIC RACE—  
DEFENCES OF CARLOVACZ — COSTUMES — AUSTRIAN ESPIONNAGE — TABLE  
D'HÔTE—A SAINT IN A HUSSAR UNIFORM—GERMAN OFFICERS IN COVENTRY  
AT CARLOVACZ.

THE people of this unhappy country were indeed fit instruments for the suppression of the revolution, two years ago, under the walls of Vienna. Blind and abject followers of a venal and tyrannical leader, they were saved from universal contempt only by their undeniable bravery on the field of battle. At Carlovacz, where we arrived in the evening, we saw six companies of one of the Croatian regiments which Jellachich then commanded; they displayed the Sclavonian characteristics of fair hair and blue eyes, and they were fine-looking men, with a most soldierly bearing, although they were far from evincing that degree of neatness in their dress which we are accustomed to consider as one of the first effects and principal indications of a good military organization. Their white coats were generally soiled, and always carelessly put on, while their dark blue tight pantaloons, braided with white woollen cord, and their half-boots, laced over their ankles, like highlows, did not seem ever to have been made for their respective wearers. Their distinctions of rank were marked by one, two, or three stars on the collar, those of the non-

commissioned officers being in worsted, and the officers having them embroidered in gold. These troops, who have hitherto been faithful to the House of Hapsburgh, are allowed to serve in their own country,—a privilege which is withheld from the Hungarians, who are for the most part quartered in the Austrian dominions of Italy; and from the Lombards, who are marched about the German possessions of the Kaiser, who thus makes the heterogeneous elements composing his empire guard each other, by stationing a garrison of foreigners where the natives are disaffected. But his Croatian subjects are likely soon to be suspected also; for I learnt at Carlovacz, with some degree of certainty, that if another attempt on the part of the Magyars should take place, they will be eagerly joined by the Croats. It appears that the former people still hope to achieve, if not complete national independence, at least more liberal institutions than they have as yet enjoyed under the Austrian rule; and that another insurrection is projected, which is not intended to break out until its principles shall have spread over all the Slavonian provinces of the Austrian empire; while the Croatians now understand the error they fell into by opposing the Hungarians, and will in future make common cause with them. They were induced to follow their Ban in his campaign against Hungary, by promises of political enfranchisements, and of diminutions in their fiscal burdens, which promises have subsequently been belied by him; and he is now as unpopular among them as he was formerly revered. Their natural sympathies are all in favour of the Hungarians, although they equally object to a



Magyar supremacy ; and the general discontent, which seems to be growing amongst the inhabitants of Austria who do not belong to the Germanic race, is rife in Croatia. It is, therefore, probable, that in the future inevitable vicissitudes of the empire this people will appear in a new light, and a widely different one from that in which they have lately made themselves known.

The Croats form part of the Slavonian nation. The word nation implies either a political idea or a mere historical fact ; and the latter case is applicable to the present condition of the Slavonians, for their origin is all that now remains to identify them with the greatness of their ancestors. We see nations rise, and others fall, as the history of the world proves that they, like the individuals of whom they are composed, have their youth, their maturity, and their decrepitude ; but there the parallel ceases, for they never die. Although they may linger on for ages in apparently hopeless prostration, the day must ultimately dawn when they will suddenly issue forth from that state to enjoy a new lease of life ; and notwithstanding that their summer and autumn may have been merged in a long winter, their slumbering energies will at last be renovated by the return of another spring, and the sap reascend the seemingly withered trunk to produce anew its leaves, its blossoms, and its fruit. Thus have fallen the Assyrians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans : of these the two latter are showing symptoms of regeneration, and the first of the five great races will probably soon follow their example.

The frequent struggles of Italy, and especially the

events of the last three years are the harbingers of the resurrection of the Romans, if that race still preserves the germ of national power, which is, to say the least of it, exceedingly problematical. And these same events have roused the modern Assyrians from their state of torpor; as they have also been the signal of the decline and apparently approaching fall of the French and Germanic races, which are fast sinking under the blighting influences of exaggerated democratical principles and vitiated religious faith.

The descendants of the Assyrians, who are no other than the Slavonians, are placed in immediate contact with a portion of the Germans in the Austrian empire; and the consciousness of moral and intellectual superiority, spurred on by the general movement of Europe, will no longer submit to the forced subjection under which past ages have placed them. Hatred and contempt are universally felt by the population of these extensive provinces, which is almost exclusively Slavonian, for the small proportion of the inhabitants of the duchy of Austria; and unerring indications are exhibited of the latter succumbing, and of the former prevailing.

In Turkey, the Slavonians share the advantages bestowed on the Greeks, and there they have already commenced their career of pacific emancipation; while in Russia alone, with the exception of the ten millions of spirited Ruthenians, they lie still prostrate and oppressed under the vigorous despotism of their Czar.

That the Slavonic race is really a remnant of the ancient Assyrian nation, seems not to admit of a doubt. The opinion, which prevailed for several centuries, that

it had appeared in Europe long after the settlement of the Germans, has now fallen before the deeper researches of recent historians. The learned Pole, Michael Lelewel, established the fact, that the Sclavonians existed in eastern Europe during the predominance of the Roman republic, and many years before the invasion of the Asiatic tribes that overthrew it; and the distinguished poet of the same country, Adam Miczkiavitch, demonstrated the great similitude which is perceptible between the remains of the Assyrian language and the different Sclavonic dialects now spoken. All the Assyrian names which have reached us are translatable by words of the modern Sclavonian languages; and the inscriptions found in Asia, which have baffled the attempts to explain them by the assistance of Greek, Hebrew, Persian, and Chaldean, are easily read by means of their analogy with Sclavonian expression. Thus the name of Nebuchadnezzar is formed of the Sclavonian words "*Ne buhod no tsar*," which signify "No God but the king;" and this exactly corresponds with the "*Non est Deus nisi rex*," of the Book of Judith, in allusion to Nebuchadnezzar. For their impiety in worshipping and adoring their kings as gods, as is assumed by several erudite authorities, the Sur and Ashur, (Syrians and Assyrians,) were driven out of Asia, and have lingered for thirty centuries in abject submission to strangers; so much so, indeed, that their modern name of Sclavonian is the root from which the word, slave, is derived in almost every European language; and from that of one of their tribes, the Serbians, or Serbs, originated the term, serf. However this may be, and whatever may have been the cause of



their fall, history shows that they disappeared from Asia, and a numerous race arose in Europe, speaking the same language, and offering many other points of similarity; it is therefore but reasonable to conclude that they are one people, and that the Sclavonians are identical with the Assyrians. They are thus a remnant of the most ancient empire on earth; founded in the country now called Kurdistan, by Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," who was elected their first king on account of the skill and courage he displayed in tracking and destroying the wild beasts which had then multiplied after the deluge; and dating from the year of the world, 1800, when the descendants of Chanaan, the son of Ham, took their name from the land of Ashur, whence Nimrod ejected the posterity of Shem, and in which he built the town of Nineveh.

After thirty generations of weakness and vice, during which their kings styled themselves the kings of kings, and several of them were deified, as Nimrod was under the name of Belus, and after having appeared in profane, as well as in sacred history, as a great and warlike people, when they assisted Priam in the Trojan war, under their leader Memnon, their ancient dynasty became extinct in the person of the infamous Sardanapalus, when he put himself to death in the year of the world 3257. Their empire was then divided into the three kingdoms of Babylon, Nineveh, and Media, and these were finally united with that of the Persians under Cyrus, in the year of the world 3468, or 609 B.C. On the destruction of Babylon and Nineveh, they spread over the vast tract of country extending from the mountains of Macedon and



the eastern shores of the Adriatic to the Arctic Ocean ; and their language is now spoken, with some variation, it is true, in the northern provinces of Turkey, in the greatest part of the Austrian empire, in Prussian Poland and Silesia, and over the whole of Russia in Europe.

The modern Slavonic race, numbering, according to some, eighty-five, and according to others no less than a hundred millions, being the most numerous people in Europe, and, with the sole exception of the Chinese, the most numerous in the world, forms a subject, not only of ethnological interest, but also of political importance ; and the examination and study of its power, extent, and actual condition, are forced on every one who seriously considers the probable destinies of Europe, especially in the present age of rapid and startling changes. The Bulgarians, Serbians, Bosnians, and Croats of Turkey, together with the small tribe of Montenegrins, amount to upwards of seven millions ; in Russia there are thirty-five millions of Muscovite Slavonians, and ten millions of Ruthenians belonging to the same race ; while the Poles, also Slavonians, form a population of twenty millions, divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia ; and the Illyrians, Austrian Croats, Dalmatians, Silesians of Austria, Bohemians, Moravians, and Hungarians, exclusive of the Magyar tribe, constitute eighteen millions of the inhabitants of the Austrian empire. The Slavonians are thus more than a third part of the whole population of Europe ; they are nowhere ruled by a native dynasty, for the Emperors of Russia are more Germans than Slavonians, while there exists but one reigning family of Slavonic origin, the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg,

and they govern another people. The Muscovite branch is the lowest in the scale of social and intellectual condition; that ruled by the Sultan is now in the course of regeneration by the system of equality lately introduced among the different races of his subjects; and the Austrian portion, still oppressed, is evidently struggling to rise from the state of passive degradation in which the whole nation has been immersed for centuries, with the sole exception of the Poles, who are now again reduced to it. In Austria there are only six millions of Germans to control twenty-three millions of Slavonians, including those of Austrian Poland; and in Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces, three millions and a half of Germans to four millions of them. These proportions are pregnant with great results, for this people is now almost everywhere displaying a high degree of national energy. They have given birth to a new branch of literature, and in many of the states incorporated in the German dominions they write vigorously and successfully on their own condition and destinies, especially in Austria, where their dream is national unity; and they evince a stubborn perseverance in the pursuit of this theme, which, it were blindness to deny, must produce, if not its full realization, at least a serious endeavour to attain their object. They are essentially an intellectual and a warlike race, and these two elements of national character, when united, can never fail in generating remarkable events. Whatever be their ultimate issue, and however they may turn, they will attract the attention of Europe, and influence its prosperity, becoming consequently most interesting to Eng-

land, the workshop which supplies the continent, and the factory whose returns must greatly depend on the wealth of its customers. It is, therefore, time that the subject should be considered, in order that the probable results of this incipient fermentation may be rightly appreciated, ere they take us by surprise.

The common origin of the Slavonic race has given rise to a spirit of nationality, which is greatly encouraged by the contiguity of the States peopled by it, though they be under different sovereigns. The various tribes are thus connected both by national sympathies and by geographical circumstances, as well as by the similarity of language, which, when alone, is but a weak bond, as we have seen in the fate of the Germanic dream of nationality, extending "*so weit die Deutsche zünge Klingt*," and leading the country by this fallacious test into an incoherent struggle with a neighbouring independent state, whose historical nationality is in the main Scandinavian. This spirit of Slavonic nationality was first roused by the ambition of Russia, who hoped thus to steal a march on the Turkish, Austrian, and Prussian sovereigns of portions of that great race; but in Turkey it soon became anti-Russian in its tendency, through measures adopted for the equalisation of the population having pointed out that the future prospects under the Sultan were more promising than that of sharing the condition imposed by the iron rule of the Czar on the Muscovite Slavonians; while in Austria and in Prussia the boasted paternal system of government of the House of Hapsburgh and the professed enlightenment and constitutionalism of that of Brandenburg,



turned the balance, and Russian Panslavism was outweighed in all the scales.

The Sultan gave his Slavonian subjects a palpable proof of his intentions by proclaiming the *tanzimat*; which is their title to equality before the law, and to religious tolerance. The Emperor said to his people, "Be quiet, and I will make you rich and happy;" the King declared to his, "Be united, and I will make you free;" but the pacific empire of thirty-seven millions, including its Italian population, and the military kingdom of fifteen millions, have been convulsed from their centres to their circumferences; from Vienna, the anomalous nucleus of an agglomeration of heterogeneous states, and from Berlin, that great barrack-full of soldiers and college-full of students, to the utmost confines of their respective Slavonian provinces; while the Ottoman power, possessing barely nine millions of inhabitants in Europe, to counterbalance seven millions of Slavonians, is steadily progressing in material and political prosperity. This arises from the fact, that the two great German monarchies have merely a forced existence, neither founded on national feeling nor on a community of interests, but patched up by treaties and matrimonial alliances, which have drawn their frontier lines on the map without uniting their subjects by any bond capable of producing permanent strength. This cannot be said of Turkey; and even Russia has a decided advantage over them, although it be derived from a different source; for her antiquated systems and overwhelming despotism, more Asiatic and mediæval in their character than European and modern, serve the



same end with regard to the tranquillity of the Slavonians for the present.

Had the Austrian Emperor followed up the idea which was proposed in the reign of Joseph II., that they should make their empire purely Slavonic, by withdrawing from Italy and giving up their proportionately inconsiderable German dominions, a powerful state might have been formed, and its present artificial condition would have become a natural one, while it might possibly have drawn to it a great portion of the other Slavonian countries; but they allowed the scheme of Panslavism to be appropriated by Russia, and they gave time to Turkey to enter on a career of reform, which has closed the door to them for ultimate consolidation. Their provinces in the meantime have necessarily revolted; the Magyars were the opponents of Panslavism, and they were in their turn opposed by the Slavonians, who aided in suppressing their revolution; but there is now every reason to believe that, if another attempt be made, as appears probable, the two causes will be united in Austria to overthrow her tottering power.

The Croats were the first of the Slavonian tribes which I had an opportunity of studying, and Carlovacz was the first Croatian town which we visited. It is one of the principal places of Austrian Croatia. Situated in the centre of an extensive and fertile plain near the confluence of the three rivers, Kulpa, Corana, and Dobra, which water it, and occupying an advantageous position for the trade between the interior of the province and the sea-coast, as well as for military purposes, this favoured

spot has been endowed with all the gifts which nature could bestow ; but, although profusely lavished on it, they are far from having been adequately improved. The houses are chiefly built of wood, and ill-constructed, with the exception of the public edifices and a few mercantile establishments ; the streets are so very badly paved that the coachman walked his horses over the irregular and rough stones lest his springs should break ; and it was very evident that Carlovacz was innocent of barricades—for it is one of the effects of that rebellious little manœuvre, and perhaps not the least beneficial of them, that, when all is over, the thoroughfares are repaired.

The warlike defences of the place are of so weak a character that no garrison could hold out any length of time against a well-directed assault. The town consists of a small number of streets and squares within the ramparts, a separate fort containing two churches and several dwelling-houses, and a populous suburb, feebly connected with the fortifications by a ditch and palisades. The works once stood a siege, however, when they were successfully defended against the Turks by Charles of Steyermark, or Styria, in the year 1579, shortly after the town had been rounded by the fugitives from Southern Croatia, which had then fallen into the hands of the Turks. The population of Carlovacz now amounts to about seven thousand.

As the day after our arrival was a Sunday, we went to the Greek church, where mass was celebrated in Croatian, the members of the Eastern Christian communion in Croatia belonging almost exclusively to the class called United, which is so assiduously protected by the Czar as

a means of reconciling his Roman Catholic subjects in Poland with the Slavonians, who acknowledged the exclusive supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople, and who now admit that of the Pope, and hold the fasts and festivals of the Church of Rome. The centre of the building was filled with soldiers, who had piled their fire-locks in irregular heaps against the door-posts; and the *gynæceum* was crowded with ladies, dressed as for a ball, with flowers and feathers in their hair, and wearing embroidered gowns and scarfs of the lightest materials.

There were also in the doorway many peasants, decked in their Sunday's best; the men in wide trousers of coarse white cotton, with a double row of what French milliners call *entre deux* round the lower part of each leg, after the fashion of those worn by some little boys of that nation, whose fashionable mammas pay almost as much attention to their sons' toilette as to their education; outside these trousers the loose shirt fell to the knees of the dandified Croatian boors, and its flowing sleeves were unconfined by the black woollen jacket, which partook more of the nature of a waistcoat; a large square bag covered with red cloth was invariably slung over their shoulders; and a broad-brimmed felt hat with a pair of laced half-boots, or of coarse red sandals, completed the costume. The hat was of a peculiar form, the outer edge of the brim being raised as high as the crown, and a circular receptacle for light commodities was thus provided, which I saw on other occasions duly occupied by various articles, such as vegetables, macaroni, or even fresh butter in a cabbage-leaf. The women were clothed in long white cotton garments, to which I



will not venture to assign a name, as I cannot conscientiously call them gowns; veils of the same stuff covered their hair, which fell in long plaits down their backs, and a silver arrow generally crossed the top of their heads, raising the veils and protecting their faces from the burning sun. In addition to this equipment, some of the young girls wore tight red embroidered jackets, black leather girdles studded with brass knobs, and strings of bright beads round their necks, which gave a gay and flaunting air to their general appearance.

As I stood near the door of the church observing the people who were pouring into it, one of the country waggons drove up at the smart trot of three horses abreast; and a lady descended from it with a many-coloured silk parasol in one hand, a richly-bound prayer-book in the other, and a lace cap with bright ribbons on her head. When she had vacated her seat, I perceived that it consisted in a bag of straw, which contrasted strangely with the ostentation of her attire; and, indeed, the humility of her equipage was remarkable, for we saw several carriages at Carlovacz as well turned out as those in most small German towns, although in this case it was merely constructed of rude wicker-work, without springs; the small and wild-looking horses were harnessed with old ropes, and the coachman reminded me much of the Croatian woodsmen, whose predatory feats in the forest of the Kappella Gebirge were repeated to us also in this town. There seemed to be nothing unusual, however, in the collective appearance of the lady and her waggon; for they did not attract the notice of any one but myself.



The images in the church were not engraved on plates of silver with the faces alone painted on wood, as is generally the case in Greece, but they were ordinary pictures, such as are raised over Roman Catholic altars; and there were none of those sculptured objects of worship which abound in the latter. The choir-singing was more consistent with a correct musical taste than is ever practised in the Christian temples of the East, which was another characteristic of the United Greek Church, who has banished from her service the nasal chanting of the Constantinople clergy. The congregation seemed to be exceedingly devout; almost every one joined in the Psalms, and, although genuflections were wanting, the signing of the cross, from right to left and with three fingers, as in the Greek Church, instead of from left to right with the whole hand, as the Roman Catholics do, was most assiduous.

When we returned to the inn, we saw a person of respectable appearance, who bowed to us as he stood at the door when we passed. A short time afterwards, I went out again; he was still there, and he bowed a second time most gravely. A party of soldiers were preparing a four-wheeled cart for their conveyance to an outpost, and, as I remained looking at their mode of yoking their horses, the gentleman remarked to me in German, that the journey would not be an agreeable one without any species of shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. I assented to this proposition; and from common-place to common-place our conversation advanced to a footing sufficiently established to admit of his politely inquiring what countryman I was. When

he was satisfied on this point, he said that I must have experienced a very sudden change of climate in coming direct from London. I replied that some time had passed since I left England; and, after much manœuvring he succeeded in extracting from me that I had been lately in Paris.

“A great many foreigners,” he then remarked, “whose political opinions are too liberal to suit the taste of the present re-actionary government of the French Republic, have now left Paris, in consequence of the infamous circular of the Prefect of Police, ordering an inquiry into the circumstances of all strangers.”

I expressed some surprise that the latest intelligence from Paris should be so well known in the wilds of Croatia; and he was equally astonished that I should have found it necessary to come so far. Before I could obtain any explanation of this strange insinuation, he went on to question me with regard to the truth of a report, which he alleged to be current, that Kossuth was concealed in Paris instead of being in Asia Minor; and his manner became quite mysterious and confidential, as he passed to the discussion of the character of Haynau, whom he qualified as the most sanguinary monster that ever lived, a gentleman by profession, but a butcher by nature; and he concluded by assuring me that another insurrection would soon take place in Hungary. I told him that I knew nothing of the movements either of Kossuth, whom I believed to be in Turkey, or of his future imitators, if any such there might be; but he smiled incredulously, and, taking leave of me, hurried away. Not half-an-hour later, I was in my room, when

a Serjeant of Police opened the door and ordered me to accompany him instantly to his superior. I did so, but not without leaving a considerable degree of anxiety and alarm with my poor companion on account of this ominous incident, and having scarcely been allowed sufficient time to take the necessary precaution of providing for any immediate inconvenience which might possibly arise from my not returning so soon as might be wished. I was soon ushered into the presence of two persons in a large room at the Town Hall. As I entered, I caught a glimpse of the individual with whom I had conversed at the door of the inn, and I then understood the motive and means which had procured me the honour of being presented to those who seemed desirous of forming my acquaintance. They were seated, with their hats on their heads, and they neither uncovered themselves nor offered me a chair. I had taken off my hat in going into the room, but when I saw how I was received, I put it on again in the most emphatic manner that I could assume.

“Have you a passport?” asked one of them, without making the slightest attempt at civility. I handed him the document alluded to, as being the best answer to his question.

“Is this *your* name written here?” he continued.

“Yes.”

“And where is your profession?”

“Nowhere.”

“Why not?”

“Because I have none.”

The two worthies then whispered to each other for

some time, occasionally casting an offensive glance at me, as I stood before them, and then resuming their examination of my passport, which, being in English, it was evident they could not read.

"What does this mean?" inquired one of them, looking up at last and pointing to the term "Esquire," which was inscribed after my name.

"Esquire," said I, "is rendered in German by the word *schildknapp* or *écuyer* when the French term is borrowed."

"To whom are you *écuyer*?"

"To no one."

"Why is it in your passport in that case?"

"Because it is the practice in England to bestow that title on gentlemen who have no other."

Again they exchanged a few hurried sentences in an under tone.

"Then you are a gentleman?" asked the elder of the two, with an ironical expression of countenance.

"I hope so;" I replied. "Have you anything to say to the contrary?"

"I have only to say that there is something wrong in all this," retorted the official.

"Can you point out any irregularity in my passport?" said I. "That is the only question which you have the power to raise. If you cannot detect a flaw, I have a right to claim full liberty to pass through the town of Carlovacz. My passport is countersigned by the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, and you cannot dispute the permission which was secured to me by him when he authorized me to travel in Austria."



One of the Police censors then withdrew, probably to consult a superior; and when he returned, my passport was carefully docketed by him for the next town, and handed to me with a surly growl; while the other intimated to me a peremptory order to quit Carlovacz on the following morning; and I replied that such was my intention independently of any wish of his. I left the office without further protracting our conversation, which consisted, as nearly as possible, in the preceding interrogatory. Here then was an instance of the Austrian system of mean *espionnage* and fastidious *surveillance*; a system which a witty statesman of our own felicitously apologised for mentioning in Parliament by these French designations, for the corresponding words do not even exist in the English language; and a system which is as inefficient as it is dishonourable, and even more ridiculous than it is impolitic.

We dined at the *table d'hôte*. There were eighteen or twenty persons there besides ourselves; several of them were military officers, and one wore on his collar the insignia of a Colonel. We were much astonished to see the manner in which they were treated by two young girls who waited at table. They slapped them on the back and pulled their hair, with loud shouts of laughter. When one of the young men called for more wine, they answered that he had already had more than was good for him, and that they would not give him another drop. The damsels were not far wrong there, but the gentleman seemed to take a different view of what was good for him, and, snatching the key of the cellar by force, he went to help himself. During his absence, one of the

young waiting-maids carried off his plate of strawberries and hid it. This gave rise to a charming little scene on his return with a bottle of wine in each hand, and an amicable arrangement of their differences having been concluded, the two girls very coolly took their seats at a side-table, and commenced dining in their turn, while a constant interchange of jokes and tricks was carried on between the two parties.

At this stage of the entertainment the door was opened, and there appeared a melancholy young man with a violin, an interesting young woman bearing a harp, and another interesting young woman with a guitar; all three bearing also a strong resemblance to each other. They took up a humble position in a corner, and began playing waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and polka-mazurkas, most admirably. They looked so modest and so unhappy, that we indulged in a poetical supposition that they were a brother and two sisters in reduced circumstances, who supported their infirm and aged parents by the innocent exercise of the talents and accomplishments acquired in a higher sphere of life. Our disgust at the coarse manners of the Croatian officers, and of the gentlemen of Carlovacz, was heightened when we saw them chucking the distressed sisters under the chin and patting their cheeks, as they went round the table with a sheet of music to receive our alms in; but, unfortunately for our little romance, the fair supplicants smilingly accepted these insulting familiarities with as much apparent satisfaction as they did the *zwanzigers*.

Everything seemed to go wrong with us at Carlovacz, and we rose from the *table d'hôte*, declaring it to be a

detestable place; for, besides the grievances already mentioned, our beds were bad, hard, and damp; the savages gave us genuine *boná fide* camomile flowers immersed in a jug of lukewarm water when we asked for tea on our arrival after a fatiguing day's journey; and no one can receive an agreeable impression of a town under such aggravating circumstances.

We enjoyed a delightful walk, however, in the evening. On passing the Roman Catholic church of the Barmherzige Maria, an epithet corresponding to the Italian title of the Madonna della Misericordia, we heard the sound of an organ, and entered by one of the side-doors. The vespers were nearly concluded, and we walked round the building, which was altogether uninteresting, with the exception of a wooden statue that attracted our attention: it represented St. Stephen, not the Protomartyr, but the first Hungarian king. The figure was clothed in a rich and bright-coloured national costume, and on the head was placed a facsimile of that crown which was used at the coronation of all the sovereigns of Hungary, and which has now been carried off by Kossuth. Stephen was a good Christian and a great monarch; but in the church of Carlovacz, I must say that in my eyes he cut rather a strange figure as a Saint, in the uniform of our 11th Regiment of Hussars, with their richly embroidered jacket and hanging pelisse, their tight red nether garments and Hessian boots, for that gallant corps wears the exact counterpart of the Hungarian dress. It was surely an eccentric idea to put some of our light cavalry regiments into the national costume of another country; and how odd it must appear to the

Magyars, that English dragoons should thus imitate their peculiar equipment! We might quite as well have the Coldstream regiment of Guards accoutred as Chinese; and the Austrians would not be more inconsistent than we are, if they were to give the Highland garb to their grenadiers.

On the glacis we found the nobility of Carlovacz, promenading to the sounds of a military band; there were many well-dressed people of both sexes, and of all ages, bearing about them, at the same time, that indescribable stamp which Parisians call provincial; and Austrian officers, of every rank, literally swarmed in numerous groups, easily distinguishable from those of the Croatian regiment by their isolated position, as well as by their uniform; for the Germans seemed to live as strangers in the land, without associating with the natives.

Afterwards we strolled along the banks of the Corana—visited several gardens, both public and private, and we returned to our odious inn to prepare for an early start on the following morning.



## CHAPTER IV.

THE MILITARY FRONTIERS—WOINICH—GLINA—TOPUSZKO—VALLEY OF THE  
KULPA—PETRINIA—SZISZEK—ROMAN REMAINS—OLD CASTLE—STEAMER  
ON THE KULPA—MAGYAR OFFICER—THE RIVER SAVE—JASSENOWACZ—  
WATCH-TOWERS—GRADISKA—SCLAVONIA AND BOSNIA.

WE were up betimes, and on our way. At half a mile from the town we entered that long belt of country which extends from Dalmatia to Moldavia, and which is called the Military Frontiers. It includes the southernmost parts of Croatia, Sclavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania. It measures 900 miles in length, covering an area of between three and four thousand square miles. In this territory every peasant is a soldier; the administration of civil affairs is conducted by the officers of the Frontier Corps; and the divisions of the country are not by provinces, districts, or parishes, but by regiments, battalions, and companies, as indicated by sign-posts at their respective boundaries. The Empress Maria Theresa was the founder of this singular system, and her object was the establishment of a military *cordon*, to protect her provinces from the hostile attacks of her Turkish neighbours, and from the plague, which occasionally appeared in Bosnia and Serbia at that time. The principle is still maintained in full vigour, although the troops, thus enrolled, are now employed elsewhere when required for other purposes, as they have been for

the last two years, when different parts of the Empire were disturbed by insurrections. Two hundred thousand men are, therefore, added by this means to the standing force of Austria; and they cost the Imperial Treasury merely the outlay for arming them, as they receive neither pay nor rations, excepting when removed from their regular quarters for the purposes of war, and they are then fed; but never paid nor clothed at the public expense, being allowed to seek compensation in plunder, as much from their fellow-subjects as from the enemy. Their ordinary routine of service is to mount guard in the watch-towers of the *cordon*, where they remain a week; they are then relieved, and they go to the headquarters of their company to be drilled for another week; after this they are again on duty at their posts for a week: and they are allowed to return to their homes to pass the last week of each month in agricultural labour. Their wretched condition may easily be conceived, as their families are supported on the produce of one quarter of their work; and the neglected state of husbandry, which we soon remarked, was a necessary consequence of the life they were obliged to lead. We saw a great many of these peasant-soldiers. and they certainly looked more like beggars than either peasants or soldiers. Clothed in rags, with rude sandals on their stockingless feet, they wore their crossbelts, bayonets, and pouches, apparently without ever thinking of cleaning them; and over their shoulders a filthy bag was generally thrown, for the purpose of conveying their bread and vegetables to their posts, for they have no other food. Some of them were mere boys, of thirteen or fourteen years of age, dragged

from their families and their work to idle away their time in a guard-house, and to learn the hardships and vices of their older comrades. It cannot be expected that a population so situated can have much intrinsic worth, or should be attached to the government; and, from all I could learn, it appears certain that, if Austria should again be plunged into internal difficulties, which it seems hardly possible for her to avoid, not only will the inhabitants of the Military Frontiers decline repeating the part they have played of late for the repression of civil disorders, but they will also take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to turn those arms, of which they have been taught the use, against the power which condemns them to such intolerable evils. If they made no attempt to better their condition by violence, when the greatest part of the Empire was at war with the Emperor, it was chiefly because they had always been kept in a state of such complete ignorance, that they were taken by surprise when they heard of the rising of the Italians, Viennese, and Hungarians, and did not understand the movement; but, now that they have become acquainted with the existence of a spirit of independence, and have seen the possibility of resistance, even in the field of battle, their disposition is no longer that of abject submission and blind obedience to their rulers.

The country we were now travelling through was eminently adapted to the purposes and vicissitudes of a revolutionary war, being easy of defence, and offering inaccessible retreats, without having much ground on which a regular army could manœuvre. A foreign state, close at hand, would provide a safe asylum in the

event of defeat, for the Bosnian hills rose on our right at a distance of only a few miles, and the Turkish system of hospitality under such circumstances is based on an unalterable religious principle.

Those hills were not very lofty, and they seemed to be covered with wood to their very summits. The landscape was on all sides beautiful in the extreme, but there was little cultivation visible, and the population was apparently scanty. We were in the territory of the Szluiner Regiment, which takes its name from a small village on the river Corana, in the neighbourhood of which there is a picturesque old castle; and, near the latter, a waterfall is formed by the stream Szluinchicza, which issues from a grotto in a volume of water, sufficient to turn several mills, and then rolls over a rock about eighteen feet high, and a hundred wide. We drove for some hours through a long succession of rich valleys watered by small rivers tributary to the Kulpa and Corana, on the banks of which, occasional hamlets, in sad contrast to the fertile resources of nature, lay partly in ruins, scarcely inhabited, and bearing ample testimony to the woful degradation of their few occupants. Everything about them was in the most unimproved state; we passed a flour-mill, for instance; it was contained in a hovel, hardly larger than those which serve as dwellings for unclean animals in England, and not nearly so cleanly in appearance; a horizontal cog-wheel of rude construction was turned by a fall of water led past it, and the mill-stone was moved by it, without any intermediate mechanical contrivance to increase its force, or add to its rapidity of evolution.



The first place of any importance which we reached was Woinich. Here there were several good houses, the property of the company raised in the neighbourhood; and rows of trees planted along the road, which was broad and straight, contributed to create an external show of prosperity about the town; but a close inspection soon enabled us to detect how superficial it was. After staying there a couple of hours, we proceeded on our journey, and, as we advanced into the interior of the province, matters grew worse and worse; the jolting of our carriage increased, as the absence of all care in the maintenance of the road became more and more apparent; we rattled over stones a foot in diameter, lying loose in deep sand; and we plunged into holes like a ship in a heavy sea, rising and falling, pitching and tossing from side to side, with a degree of violence that foreboded an upset at last, which, however, we were fortunate enough to escape. When we had a hill to climb, our coachman would alight and disappear altogether, allowing his horses to drag us up it as they liked; while I was more than once obliged to jump out and prevent their rolling us into a ditch, or stop them until he overtook us; and when we passed a stream, he would pull up, and, unfastening the traces and polestraps, drive them into the water to drink, leaving us in the middle of the road, to be knocked against by every waggon that passed; but we suffered no accident, and our only trial was that of our temper.

In the centre of a fine plain almost totally uncultivated, across which the river Glina flowed, we found the town of the same name, which is the head-quarters

of the 1st Banal Regiment of the Military Frontiers, and has a population of nearly 2,000 inhabitants. The unpaved streets were exceedingly broad; they were straight, and at right angles to each other; but the rows of wooden huts arranged on either side of them ill corresponded to the plan of the town. The only buildings of any solidity were two churches,—one Greek, not United, the other Roman Catholic,—and three or four large and good houses belonging to the Staff of the regiment. No one was to be seen stirring, and the aspect of the whole place presented an apt image of the state of the country—dull, depressed, and prostrate under absolute military rule. We saw a drummer publishing a proclamation in the principal square; his audience was composed of two boys and a little girl, who were apparently in much greater admiration of the drum than of the document.

Three miles to the south-west of the town lies the village of Topuszek, in the romantic valley of the Glinia. The mineral waters of this lovely spot are commencing to attract the attention of invalids; they contain iron in a considerable proportion, their temperature is from 40° to 48° of Réaumur, and the chief spring yields two hundred gallons per hour. In cases of rheumatism, debility, and induration, they are said to be most beneficial. An interesting ruin is to be seen in the neighbourhood, which is supposed to be the remains of a church, dating from the fourteenth century; the style of architecture is what is called the *Alt Deutsch*, or Old German, and a beautiful doorway of this description is still in a state of good preservation.

We continued to travel through a country of the

greatest fertility, rich in alluvial soil, with an abundance of water; but a spirit of indolence seemed to pervade the habits of the people, either arising from the hopelessness inspired by the conduct of the government, or from the usual tendency of the prodigality of nature to produce idleness, as barren land stimulates the energies of its cultivators. On passing the summit of a wooded hill, a splendid view of the vale of the Kulpa suddenly broke upon us. The sun was setting gloriously, and the bright purple tints of the airy clouds, some with a vivid fringe like molten gold, and others fading softly to a pale rose colour, were faithfully reflected on the glassy surface of the river: a lovely islet, thick-set with trees and shrubs, divided its widened breadth, as it swept round the foot of the hill, and, altering its course, glided along towards the plain, on which the towns of Petrinia and Sziszek might be distinguished in the distance; and a number of floating mills were anchored in a line where its current was strongest, with their broad wheels revolving slowly by the force of the stream, and their light boats, scooped out of the trunks of trees, moored beside them to convey their inmates to the shore.

As we descended into the valley, we passed numerous herds of cattle grazing, and, above all, the most interminable flocks of geese, with little children tending them; and on reaching the plain, we were agreeably surprised to perceive a good deal of cultivation. The existence of this unusual feature in Croatian scenery was soon explained to us, by our learning that certain ancient privileges were enjoyed by the inhabitants of the district, which is called the *Campus Turopolia*, with that



admixture of Latin so frequently used in Hungary; and the twenty-four communities, which occupy it, are exclusively composed of united freemen, having their elective *Landgraves* and independent local jurisdiction.

Petrinia, which is situated at the confluence of the river of the same name with the Kulpa, is the seat of the Staff of the 2d Banal Regiment of the Military Frontiers. It has a population of about 5,000; the town is well built, with spacious streets and squares, most of them being agreeably planted with mulberry trees; and some of the churches are handsome, especially that of St. Lawrence, occupying the centre of a large open market-place. We saw the remains of a castle, possibly the same which was raised here by Hassan Pasha of Bosnia, in the year 1590, as a rallying point for his invasion of Croatia; but there was nothing in their appearance to interest us, or to illustrate their history, as the ruins were fast crumbling into dust. Most of the houses and shops had ponderous iron doors and window-shutters, which spoke volumes on the existing state of society in this province of the Austrian Empire.

Only a few miles separated us from the town of Sziszek, which we reached at a late hour in the evening. We drove to the best inn, and it seemed to be almost entitled to the honour of being styled an hôtel, so extensive was the court-yard, and so intricate the long passages with numbered doors on either side. This was something new to us since we had been travelling in Croatia; but we were not destined to enjoy the comforts of a civilized asylum for wayfarers, as the host announced to us that his house was full, in consequence of the



arrival of the steamer. A crowded hôtel and a steamer at Sziszek, in the heart of the Military Frontiers ! We thought he was making game of us. It was true enough, however ; not a room was to be had, and the black funnel of a steam-boat was distinctly discernible by the moonlight on the waters of the Kulpa, which rippled past the door. This was still more new to us, and we were fain to put up with a garret over a wine-shop, where the sonorous music of midnight revellers banished from our hard pillows that sweet oblivion which fatigue invited ; but we consoled ourselves in our temporary misfortunes with the cheering prospect of steaming it down the river. Having despaired of obtaining any sleep, I got up when the day was about to dawn, and went to see the place.

The town is bisected by the Kulpa, on the left bank of which lies Alt Sziszek, the opposite portion being called New Sziszek, from having been built more recently : they are also distinguished as the military and civil towns, for this river bounds the territory of the Military Frontiers. One half of Sziszek is thus ruled by the ordinary municipal authorities, while the other is administered by the officers of the battalion belonging to the district. The communication between them is kept up by means of a floating bridge of boats, moored longitudinally in the middle of the river, and swinging like a pendulum from side to side, impelled by the current, and guided by a couple of men with long poles. A noble causeway, built by the Romans, leads to the town ; and, indeed, the remains of the ancient city of the Sissenses are scattered about in all directions. It

must have been of great extent, for Roman brick-work is discovered wherever a ditch is dug, within a circumference of several miles. Fragments of columns, broken sarcophagi, and sculptured blocks, have frequently been found; and one large house has recently been built entirely of bricks and tiles which had been extracted from ancient vaults. There are not more than two thousand inhabitants in Sziszek, but they are so actively engaged in the trade carried on between the interior and the lower provinces of Hungary, that it appears to be a stirring and thriving place.

I walked a couple of miles to see an old castle, belonging to the Doms Capitel of Agram, which was gallantly defended in 1592, against Hassan Pasha of Bosnia, by two members of the Chapter of that cathedral. It is not picturesque, being merely a large triangular building, with three huge round towers at the corners; but a Gipsy camp under the trees in front of the principal gate, gave it a borrowed interest, which detained me some time vainly endeavouring to enter into conversation with the wanderers. When obliged to give up the attempt in despair, I directed my steps along the bank of the river; occasionally overtaking as I went the heavy barges laden with fifty or sixty butts of wheat, which at least twenty small horses were dragging against the stream, accompanied by nearly as many fierce Croats, cracking their long whips, and often overtaken in my turn by the wicker carts on the road, which were pulled by four horses or mares abreast, with skittish foals galloping beside their dams. I thus reached the town, where I got our passport countersigned by

the Captain of a company of the Petrinia Frontier Corps, as we were in New or Military Sziszek ; and, after staring in astonishment at the ragged sentry before his door, who was coolly reclining on the ground fast asleep, with his arms shouldered, I went to take our places in the steamer. Another wretched night, and we embarked.

One of the passengers, with whom we soon became intimately acquainted, as he lost no time in telling us his history and private affairs, was an officer of a Frontier Regiment, whose wife had died a few days previously, leaving him three young children, and who was on his way to beg his mother-in-law to take charge of them. It was very sad ; but all our overtures of sympathy and condolence were indifferently received, and we found that his sensibilities were more easily excited on the subject of his country's wrongs, than on that of his domestic afflictions ; for he was a Magyar, and he spoke freely and most feelingly on the Hungarian cause. He said that the oppressive sway of the foreign usurpers would evidently be overthrown, and that the hopes of his countrymen were centred on England, for she would at last be convinced that the Hungarians are deserving of active assistance.

"What assistance can you expect from England?" I asked.

"An intervention in our favour;" replied he.

"And do you think that a foreign country can easily interfere between a legitimate sovereign and his subjects?"

"You interfered between the Greeks and the Turks,



Without the battle of Navarino, Greece would never have been free. Why should Hungary not inspire the same sympathy?"

"You did inspire sympathy, and a strong feeling in your favour was very general in England during your late struggle with Austria."

"You would be very inconsistent if you were indifferent to our fate and to our cause, and we only desire what you possess and glory in. Institutions similar to those of England are all we ask, and, please God, we shall obtain them before we are much older."

After this conversation, which I took the first opportunity of noting down, as far as I could recollect it, on account of its being a plain statement of the prevalent feeling of the Magyars, my fellow-passenger informed me that he had not taken an active part in the late war, because he had been serving in the Austrian Navy, and that he had subsequently been transferred to a Frontier regiment, in pursuance of the system adopted, by which his countrymen were removed from all posts where they could serve with any degree of efficiency; thus, he having been brought up as a sailor, was required to drill the Croatian peasants, and administer their civil affairs. All this he said with a sort of liveliness which astonished us, when we reflected that he was a widower of a few days' date, and our conclusions were far from being advantageous to the memory of the lost help-mate.

The Hungarian reminded me of the Irishman who was asked what he wished to have inscribed on the tombstone of his wife after her name and age, and who replied that the monosyllable "snug" should be engraved upon



it, as the expression of his feelings in consigning her to the grave.

There was a lady on board who seemed to wear mourning in her heart more sincere than the band of crape round the Magyar's cap: she was the very image of silent and hopeless grief, and her unobtrusive sorrow excited universal interest among the passengers; but she spoke to no one. Many were the conjectures as to the cause of so much mental anguish, but it was not until we reached Semlin that we learnt the truth. On our arrival there, she left the steamer before daylight with her maid, and it was remarked that she was then for the first time dressed in the deepest mourning. Several hours later we were walking in the town, and we met her with an elderly priest. When we returned to the inn we found that she was also there; but she never left her room. I heard, however, from a person who was acquainted with her, that she had come from Agram to Semlin, a journey of four days, to visit the grave of her only son, a cavalry officer, on the anniversary of his death. In such mourning there can be no mistake.

We soon steamed from Sziszek to the point where the Kulpa loses itself in the river Save; and we followed the course of the latter for some time between low wooded banks, rising gradually till they joined the range of hills, which bounded the view on either side.

We passed several villages of log-huts, which, although apparently populous, were not provided with any visible places of worship. Their floating mills were moored in front of them, and now for the first time I had an opportunity of observing the construction of these primitive

contrivances for converting wheat into flour. Two hollow trunks of very large trees, with their ends closed, supported the wooden building which contained the mill-stones, while the axle of the broad wheel rested on another boat of similar formation ; the force of the current, which flowed between them, setting the machinery in motion. They were working quick and well, which was probably owing to the rapidity of the stream having been increased by rain, a dull muddiness having been added, at the same time, to its colour.

Large rivers, however, rarely possess the limpid transparency of the clear blue sea, and on that account the scenery on their banks, beautiful as it may be in itself, loses one of the principal charms that imagination pictures before seeing it ; disappointment is thus almost always felt in river excursions.

But the Save, though dull and muddy in appearance, had presented itself under unusually favourable circumstances ; we were heartily tired of land-travelling, and a steamer was a great relief ; for we glided along without fatigue or inconvenience at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, as the vessel steamed eleven knots through the water and the current ran three at least ; while exhausted nature was opportunely restored by breakfast, lunch, or dinner, at any hour we chose to call for it ; instead of waiting hungry and impatient until we reached an expected town, or other halting-place.

The Save, moreover, was far from being devoid of picturesque attractions. Its breadth, where we now were, hardly exceeded 100 yards, and its course was so tortuous, that a new landscape was unfolded before us

at every turn—and we were always turning. We had thus a continual stimulus to our curiosity, as we never knew what fresh view might appear at any moment. Sometimes on either side extended vast uncultivated plains, while occasional herds of light-coloured and long-horned cattle, or of small and bony mares with their frisky foals, were scattered over them ; at other times, the narrowed stream would rush rapidly between two high and rocky shores, or steep wooded banks, wild and desert ; and soon afterwards it would again widen out with diminished speed, and flow calmly past green hillocks shelving gradually down to the water's edge, where women clustered washing clothes among lofty trees, whose roots were partly exposed by the undermining current. As the waves raised by our paddles reached those dusky Nereïds, who seemed not to anticipate this effect of our locomotive powers, they would scream with affright when they were splashed, and take to flight, running to the very top of the bank, and standing on the defensive, as if they apprehended being overtaken even there. Frequently one side of the river was deep and rapid, with a broken and precipitous shore, whilst the other was perfectly calm as it eddied sluggishly round a low promontory ; for the abruptness of the sinuosities often threw the force of the stream against one of the banks, and, its action being thus directed, the soil was being gradually washed away and carried down the stream. We thus proceeded, moving from gunwale to gunwale, and from stem to stern of the vessel as the view changed, expatiating on its beauties, and congratulating ourselves on the extension of steam navigation.

Towards noon we entered a dense forest of fine old timber coming close to the banks of the river. Several noble eagles rose, and, soaring above us, effected their retreat with fearless and proud disdain at our approach. Wild cattle gazed in stupid astonishment as we passed; and then, lowing and snorting, galloped heavily, with tails erect, to the innermost recesses of the wood. Not a human being was seen for many miles, and no vestige of habitations was visible anywhere. On emerging from this scene of solitude and grandeur, we came to the town of Jassenowacz. Here the Save formed the boundary between the Austrian and Turkish Empires; on either side were a considerable number of wooden houses, built on piles in consequence of the frequent inundations, those on the left bank being, if possible, more miserable in appearance than the wretched dwellings opposite; and a bridge, like that at Sziszek, was swinging lazily with its cargo of Ottoman subjects on their way to visit those of the Kaiser. We observed on the stocks some of the monarchs of the forest, which we had just left, in process of being converted into river boats; they were as long as frigates, and their form was but ill adapted either for facility of towing or capacity of stowing, as it was that of an oblong rectangle, raised so much at both ends that they could be well laden only in the centre, and the great resistance of the broad stem must materially impede their progress against the stream.

The amount of population in the Austrian town, which is enrolled in the Gradiskaner Frontier Regiment, is upwards of two thousand, and the great majority of the inhabitants belong to the Greek Church, not United.



The river Unna, which here joins the Save, divides Croatia from the ancient kingdom of Slavonia, and, as Bosnia stretches to the latter river on the other side, we now bade adieu to the Croats, and continued our course with an Empire on either hand.

On leaving Jassenówacz we again found ourselves floating swiftly through a noble forest of oaks, which, as I was told, abounds in game of different kinds, from hares and wild ducks to boars and roe-deer, and wolves are frequently seen in troops by those who venture far into it. The Bosnians seemed to turn the wood to better account than the Slavonians, for piles of timber and firewood were ranged along the right bank of the river ready for embarkation: and perhaps this was owing to the greater privileges afforded by the Turkish government, for I learnt that the felling of trees was permitted on the same conditions as the cultivation of the Crown-lands, and they consist merely in the payment of a tithe of the produce.

The military stations on the Slavonian shore, which form the *cordon*, were about two hundred paces distant from each other. They are wooden buildings, fifteen or twenty feet square, raised on upright trunks of trees to a height of six feet from the ground, in order to keep them dry when the river overflows its banks; and they are surrounded by a sort of covered veranda, in which the soldiers of the guard, composed of a corporal's party of from five to ten men, were generally lounging. Each post is provided with a large bell, by means of which it is calculated that the alarm can be spread along the whole southern frontier of the Empire in the space of four

hours. The alarm would not do them much good, however, as there are few forts or defensible points on the line, if it should ever be attacked; and, like other rivers, the Save forms but a weak boundary, as it could easily be crossed by aggressors, social, fiscal, or political, if any such there be, without leaving any traces of their movements. Indeed, not only as a protection against the plague, or against national invasion, which are the ostensible objects of the establishment, but also as tending to check the imaginary marauding expeditions of small parties, which are alleged to have passed the river in search of plunder, as well as the smuggling enterprises of Jew pedlars, which may be true enough, the long range of lofty mountains, running parallel to the Save at a little distance towards the north, would have been a much more efficient frontier, while the war against Hassan Pasha of Bosnia might have been avoided, by taking up these stronger lines. The Turks, however, seem now to be utterly indifferent on this subject, and they probably laugh in their sleeves at the great burden they entail on their neighbours for the maintenance of the *cordon*, without making the slightest attempt at reciprocity. We frequently saw them dragging their boats against the stream, on the Austrian bank of the Save, while one of the soldiers of the Frontier guard invariably accompanied them from station to station with his firelock and fixed bayonet over his shoulder. On the Bosnian shore, any one was free to land who might be desirous of doing so, without the smallest impediment.

We came to the end of the magnificent forest at last, and soon afterwards reached the Slavonian town and fortress of Alt Gradiska. Its population exceeds 3,000,

and an active trade is carried on with the Bosnian town of Berbir, on the other side of the river, although it has hitherto been obstructed by the unnecessary observance of the quarantine regulations. We had now so completely escaped from the accustomed haunts of British tourists, who gape and stare at everything, sketch-book and traveller's guide in hand, that we had become quite an object of curiosity to the other passengers; a modest and retiring incognito is impossible in a region of passports; our nationality was soon known; and we often heard the question asked, "Where are the English people? They should look at this."

But at Gradiska, the interest I took in the fortifications, which were in excellent order, seemed to excite astonishment; and one grave gentleman of Slavonia expressed surprise that I should think them worthy of attention, considering that the towns of England must be so much better fortified. Such is the amount of their information with regard to the actual state of Great Britain; and I fear that not much more is known in England about the real condition of this part of Austria. Here, for instance, are a people, undeniably robust, active and brave, who are forcibly kept in nearly constant service without any remuneration; and a country proverbially fertile, which is almost totally uncultivated; and I, for one, certainly never knew that before. The soil belongs to the State, in the Military Frontiers; a peasant who builds a cottage, is not allowed to sell it, if he should wish to remove elsewhere; no foreigner is permitted to settle, excepting in the towns and for the purpose of trading, in which case alone an exemption is granted



from the military duties that every other inhabitant of these territories is obliged to perform during the best years of his life; and what is worst of all, young men, who may display talent in a special calling, and may wish to improve it by education of any kind, are prohibited from seeking instruction. Travellers, who think a residence of a few weeks at Vienna has given them a thorough insight into the character of the Austrian empire, would be as completely undeceived on visiting some of its provinces, as I was by the contrast presented by the condition of the Military Frontiers to that of the capital, where I had been a year previously.

The town of Gradiska was in appearance cleanly and prosperous, though small. There were a couple of neat churches, and several excellent houses. Bales of cotton were disembarked from the steamer to be spun, which attested the existence of industry; and some of the passengers left us, while others joined our party, indicating thus, that there was a certain degree of movement and activity about the place. The Turkish town on the opposite shore was all the contrary. The plain buildings and narrow streets were in a state of absolute repose. But the stately Mussulman might be seen on the shore, gazing with calm contempt at the self-important German officers bustling about, as the time-worn minarets looked grave and grey in comparison with the glittering steeples encased in sheets of tin: on the Austrian side, the forms and outward show of advanced civilization, with misery and degradation within; on the Turkish, little ostentation, but a solid and substantial foundation for enlightened welfare laid by the introduction



of liberal institutions, while material benefits are abundantly bestowed on the population.

On one side of the ramparts of the fortress lies the tomb of a Mahometan prophet, who predicted, when dying here, that the Ottoman dominions would never extend beyond this spot, notwithstanding that their career of conquest was then in its zenith. A mausoleum has been erected over his remains, and pilgrims from the south and east come continually to honour them.

When we resumed our course, it led us through a beautiful country, richly clothed with lofty timber, and rising gradually as it stretched back to the double chain of hills, whose picturesque outlines formed the distance of the lovely landscape. Bears, as I was informed by a native on board the steamer, infest those mountains; and in the winter they come down to the banks of the river, where they prowl about under cover of the wood, and often cross the Save when it is frozen over. Great numbers of trees had recently been burned on the Austrian side, and their blackened trunks still rose erect to the height of sixty or seventy feet, waiting, like the empire on which they stood, for a storm to overthrow them. The river became now much wider, and the military posts were consequently less near each other, as the supposed danger was diminished.

Nothing could be more enchanting than the banks of the Save when the forest occasionally receded, leaving a natural meadow studded with single trees, and broken by the course of the numerous streams which brought their liquid offering to the great river from the bright green hills, that formed so fair a feature in the scene,

standing out in bold relief from the dark wooded mountains in the background. There was no cultivation of any kind to be seen, but herds and flocks were everywhere browsing on the rich pastures; and the uncouth figures of their guardians, of both sexes and all ages,—the men, with their shaggy capotes hanging from one shoulder, and their long guns slung on their backs; the women and half clad children crouching behind them, added a wildness to the character of the picture, which, with the glorious setting of the sun, represented a prototype of Salvator Rosa's most glowing style. But beyond the artistic beauties of the composition, there was no pleasing impression produced by it; for it reminded one of that primitive state of society, lauded by Jean Jaques Rousseau and the imitators of his false philosophy, as being the natural condition of mankind, and substituted in their Utopian systems for the tranquillity of personal security and the profitable occupation of the soil. If those vain dreamers could but have seen their schemes realized as they are here,—for their ideas of the abolition of property, and patriotic service without remuneration, are virtually carried out in the Military Frontiers as far as the peasant is concerned,—they would have lowered their tone; and if they could but have witnessed the results of these theories as here produced,—for every one is armed to protect his rags from the covetousness of the still more naked, while vast sources of riches and prosperity lie unimproved beneath the feet of all,—they must needs admit that their visionary commonwealth would be little better than the existence of the sole proprietor, who here plays the part of an Imperial dog

in the manger. And yet, in spite of the respective oppression and misery of the master and his slaves, the country still was beautiful; perhaps more so on that very account; for, although not unlike the scenery of the Clyde, the absence of all agricultural industry gave it a charm, which would be sought for in vain in those more happy climes. It was just such a picture of wandering and patriarchal life as one could fancy Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to have surveyed, as they rested in the evening with their flocks gathering around them, or when they left their tents with the rising sun, to reconnoitre the condition of their pastoral substance after the dangers of the night.

When we glanced at Bosnia, these general characteristics of all the Slavonian provinces, which we had as yet seen, became evidently modified; the villages were less rare, more smiling and prosperous; the houses were almost all plastered, and they were roofed with tiles instead of thin planks; and, above all, the places of worship, both Christian and Mahomedan, were more numerous. Gardens appeared around the cottages, and tillage extended to a considerable distance from them. The contrast with Slavonia was most remarkable, as all was still, wild, desolate, and inert, on the left bank of the river; although, notwithstanding their political disadvantages, the Slavonians, who are cited in this part of the world for their honesty and pacific disposition, had contrived to give an appearance of well-being to their towns and larger villages, which was sadly at variance with the hardships they endure, and which was altogether wanting in Croatia. A Bosnian Aga was riding

slowly along the shore on his ambling palfrey, with his white turban binding his shaven brows, a long pipe in his mouth, and a red shawl round his waist, looking far more Turkish than the Turks of Constantinople, where, in the higher ranks of society, the Oriental costume no longer exists in all its picturesque perfection. After watching him for some little time, I happened to turn round, and I saw a wicker-waggon drawn at a gallop by four swift Hungarian horses, on the other bank of the river, and in the opposite direction; an Austrian officer was sitting in it, with embroidered jacket and natty forage-cap. "They were an apt type of the contrast between those provinces under such different governments, and separated only by this narrow river."



## CHAPTER V.

BROD—XUPANJE—BRESEVOPOLE—AN ACCIDENT—RACSA—MITROWITZ—  
 TYROLESE PEDLAR—SHOBACZ—WILD-FOWL—BELGRADE—SEMLIN—GENE-  
 RAL KREUTNER—A GREEK—ANOTHER GREEK.

OUR anchor was up at an early hour in the morning, and I was on deck as soon as the steamer was under way. The Save was rapidly becoming broader and broader, as several considerable streams successively swelled its waters; and the country on either side was now more flat, though still richly wooded. We passed a large island covered with trees, and apparently a favourite resort of water-fowl, great flights of them having left it when we approached. Mills were moored opposite almost every village—there was more cultivation—the country appeared to be better peopled, and, on the whole, it was more flourishing than western Slavonia and Croatia. The first town we reached was Brod.

On approaching this place, we passed near another island, which had served in the Turkish war as an outpost and point of observation for the Bosnian fortress opposite; but now, the trees having grown to a great height, and the remains of its defences being altogether untenable, its military career is closed, and it fulfils the peaceful mission of adding an attractive object to the general view of the town, which is prettily situated.

A modern and more efficient stronghold has been built by the Austrians in the neighbourhood, with curtains and bastions, scarps and counterscarps, glacis, ravelins, and covered ways ; but, unfortunately for them, all the science of Vauban himself would be of little avail in such a position if it were skilfully attacked, for a less defensible one can hardly be imagined, as it is commanded by heights on all sides. We went to a public promenade, which was tastefully planted, occupying the whole space between the town and the fort, and thence we walked through several good streets, with handsome buildings on each side, the most remarkable of which were a fine looking church and an extensive Franciscan convent. There were two other good churches, one of them being Greek not United, as most of the inhabitants belong to that persuasion ; and the other, Roman Catholic, for the accommodation of the Austrian garrison ; while the first we had seen was also of that branch of the Christian Church, having been recently built by the government with the view of enticing the Slavonians to become members of it.

The population of the town is 2,500, and their principal resource is a weekly market, at which live stock, hides, and wool, are exchanged with the inhabitants of the province opposite for iron, copper, tobacco, and brandy. The Slavonians are a people of a totally different aspect from the Croats, and their character is reputed in every respect superior ; for the Croats are lazy, intemperate, and lawless, while the Slavonians are industrious, sober, and orderly. The little Hungarian officer was loud and eloquent in praise of Brod and the Brodians ; and he knew them

well, as he had been quartered there before his marriage, to take charge of a couple of gun-boats ; and he congratulated himself on the prospect of soon returning to that station, by being appointed to the frontier corps of the district. According to his description, neither Naples nor Constantinople, those two boasted beauties of Europe, could be compared to Brod ; but perhaps the reminiscences of happy celibacy returned in consoled widowhood to throw a bright halo around the scenes in which his golden age had been passed ; and, leaving his defunct better-half to sleep in peace in Abraham's bosom, memory carried him back a stage in life, while hope lured him on to live again a bachelor at Brod.

Soon after leaving that town the banks of the Save became more beautiful than ever. Now the river approached the hills, and wound close round a thickly wooded promontory, which rose high above its waters ; and now it would shoot forward again among the green meadows, which receded in gradual slopes until the heights appeared on the horizon as a distant shore at sea. These changes were so numerous and rapid that we were kept for some time in a state of constant alert, to see what view would be offered to us next, as we sat on deck under an awning to watch the shifting of the scenes in this magnificent diorama. Amongst the passengers collected to admire it, I remarked one who had come on board at Brod. He was a tall man, with long fair hair, which I perceived was not shaven on the temples, although he wore an Oriental dress ; I therefore concluded that he was not a Turk, but a Greek from Asia Minor, where Christians are often attired like



Osmanlis; and I asked him in the Romaic dialect if such were the case. He replied by a movement of offended dignity at the mere supposition that he belonged to the Greek race; and he intimated in a few broken words that he could not even speak their language. I learnt, on inquiring, that he was a Serb, and it appears from what I was then told that the Slavonian nations entertain as great a dislike to the Greeks as the Turks do. A short time afterwards we passed the village of Stitar, lying in the centre of a vast plain of fine alluvial soil, with a good deal of wood scattered over it, and herds of splendid cattle grazing in all directions. I remarked to the communicative Officer of the Frontier Regiment, that a people inhabiting so fertile a country must indeed be ill-governed if they do not enjoy such rare advantages.

“ We are the slaves of the Germans,” he replied; “ the slaves of a nation inferior to us in numbers, in civic talent, and in military valour.”

“ You talk of the Hungarians,” I said; “ but the Slavonians are not similarly situated.”

“ The Slavonians,” he rejoined, “ form a part of the great Slavonic race, which is oppressed by Austria as much as the Magyars are, and in this respect we are all in the same condition. There are Slavonians also in Hungary, and our cause is identical. But besides this, Slavonia was a province of the kingdom of Hungary, as Croatia and Transylvania were. We had also both Bosnia and Serbia, before the Turks, under the great Sultan Murad, pushed their frontiers to the Danube and the Save about four centuries ago. These two provinces



are comparatively happy under the Sultan; and they have every prospect of advancing rapidly in the career of improvement and prosperity, both political and material; but the yoke has again been placed on our necks through the overwhelming assistance of the false Slavonians of Russia, without which the Germans could never have reduced us to this state. They will not keep us long under the lash, however, and we shall still be free—England will help us in the end. If the truth were known, your journey in this part of the world would, I am sure, give us a new proof of that fact. But you are too prudent—you will not tell me your mission—I can guess it, however. English travellers do not come to Croatia and Slavonia in search of amusement.”

This was an officer in the Austrian service, and as I had no inclination to run further risk of meeting with obstacles to my journey, I thought it was full time for me to change the subject of conversation. My adventure at Carlowacz, where I was told the same thing of Hungary, and was honoured by a personal interview with the Director of Police in consequence, had taught me to avoid all causes that could produce such unpleasant effects; and, being docile under experience, the *stultorum iste magister*, I asked the Austrian officer what he thought of the weather, after I had denied that I had any mission whatsoever. The town of Xupanje then came to my assistance and afforded a new theme, opportune and instructive. He told me that it had about four thousand inhabitants, and that it was a most thriving place. Everything is relative in this world, and, were Xupanje anywhere else, it would be called a miserable

assemblage of beggars' huts: but in the Military Frontiers it was a very model, forsooth, of social and industrial welfare. Again the Save entered an extensive forest of oaks, covering the plain to the very brink of the river on either side; and we continued to traverse it for several hours, with occasional intervals of open country surrounded by wood. What a treasure these forests would be to a maritime nation! With such a river, too, for the conveyance of timber to a sea-port! All the navies of Europe might have been built from them without a tree being missed.

The Bosnian town of Bresevopolie lies on the Save, a short way below the great forest. It is exceedingly picturesque. There is a large and handsome house near it, belonging to a Bosnian landed proprietor, and entirely built in the European style, with the exception of an oriental *kiosk* or belvedere on the roof. A considerable extent of meadow land forms an English-looking lawn around it, with trees beautifully grouped, and vineyards neatly kept on the heights behind the house and garden. The existence of a villa was not a bad symptom of the state of Bosnia; alone and unprotected, substantial and comfortable, costly and tasteful, such a residence spoke volumes in favour of the landed interests, as would be said in parliamentary jargon, if Bosnia had a parliament; which she probably will have sooner than Slavonia or Croatia. In the town the houses are mostly wooden; the streets are irregular, but they are embellished by a multitude of trees; there is a Turkish minaret surrounded by Christian churches, indicative of religious tolerance; and at the mouth of a tributary

stream, which flows through the place with a wooden bridge over it, a great number of river-boats were anchored, denoting commercial enterprise.

After leaving this flourishing little community we entered a region of hill and dale, cliffs and ravines, woods and waterfalls, which resembled a miniature Switzerland or Killarney, with the lakes united in one broad river. Our admiration had reached the acme of enthusiasm, and we were just lamenting the rapidity of our course, which hardly gave us time to enjoy the different views, when the hoarse tones of a loud voice issued from the nethermost depths of the Tartaric engine-room, and that loud hoarse voice seemed to respond to our complainings in our own language, for the magic words were, "Stop her!" A screw was loose, and we cast anchor, when the order "Fondo!" responded along the deck.

Poor Austria could not launch a steamer on the Save without paying a Scotchman from Greenock to take charge of her engines, and an Italian from Venice to command her.

We lay there for five long hours, and we were glad enough to resume our way when the "canny Scot" had tightened his screw, for we were beginning to get tired of our steamer, especially during the nights, as there were no beds on board. We soon reached the mouth of the river Drina, which separates Bosnia from Serbia, and flows into the Save opposite the fort of Racsa. This Austrian stronghold played a prominent part in the wars with the Turks, whose descent by the Drina to the Save was commanded by it. But the ramparts are much exposed to damage when the tributary river is swollen by



heavy rains, as it rushes against them with a degree of violence which no mason-work can stand.

A series of shifting mud-banks have thus been formed in the bed of the Save, rendering its navigation here both difficult and dangerous: were they stationary they would soon become islands, easily avoided; but as every winter creates new shallows, the steamer is obliged to steer her course among them with the greatest caution, at half speed, sounding the depths, occasionally backing her paddles, and swerving to the right or left by the aid of long poles, as she floats slowly down with the current.

The town of Racsa is about a mile distant from the fortress, and is separated from it by a low marshy plain. It is apparently a small place, and its principal resources are the cultivation of mulberry-trees, the rearing of silkworms, and the winding of raw silk from the cocoons.

After Racsa came Mitrowitz, a considerably town of Slavonia. Its large and handsome churches, whose steeples, covered with plates of tin, glittered like mirrors in the sunshine, and several rows of poplar-trees forming a pretty walk, with a military band playing for the entertainment of the rank and fashion of Mitrowitz, gave a joyous appearance to the place; while the Slavonian national flag, tri-coloured in the same manner as that of Holland, which was flying at the landing-place, added a gay and flaunting air to the whole.

Our cargo of merchandize was here augmented by a huge pack of perfumery on the brawny Herculean shoulders of a Tyrolese pedlar, who came on board with a proud air of independence, that well became the bold and indefatigable young mountaineer, who, as he told



me afterwards, had travelled over the Danubian provinces, and a great part of Russia on foot, to sell his wares. He was accompanied by his wife in her black velvet boddice, and with her man's hat, who did a little business on her own account by cutting *silhouettes* for sale.

They were a remarkable couple; both handsome, exceedingly tall, with regular features, blue eyes, and fair hair: he carried his Dresden china-pipe in his mouth, with the portrait of the Kaiser, so dear to his Tyrolean heart, painted on it; and she wore the Germanic cockade. They were thus secure on both sides, for one of these emblems must serve as a passport either to the absolute or the democratical party. Though evidently foot-sore, having walked far that day, they separated as soon as they embarked, and each went round the deck and cabin to solicit the custom of the passengers, before they sought their rest. After some small transactions they retired to the bows of the steamer, and sitting down side by side, they enjoyed their frugal meal of bread and cheese, and when it was concluded they carefully replaced the residue in their wallet, which had been slung over the woman's shoulder; they drank wine from the same bottle without the aid of a glass; the wife filled the husband's pipe while he was striking a light; and then they sat talking and laughing together, having apparently forgotten the existence of any one else but themselves in the world.

There was a sort of Adam and Eve air about them as they were thus seated on the windlass—so comely, so like each other, and so unsophisticated; some of the passengers gradually collected around them, irresistibly

attracted, as it were, by the spectacle, so rare now-a-days, of guileless gaiety and reciprocal affection.

The Tyrolese did not seem to heed us for some time, but, looking up at last, he took off his conical hat, with the flat ostrich-feather stuck in the band, arranged his green embroidered braces with a cross belt uniting them in front, and said :—

“ *Meine Herren*, you have kindly purchased a few articles of our little stock,—we thank you, and would be glad to do anything agreeable to you. Would you wish to hear how we sing at Innspruck ? ”

The proposal was joyfully received, and they at once commenced an admirable duett, in that singular style which is called *jodlen*, and which consists in rapid changes at the greatest intervals from the chest to the head voice. When one wild lay was finished, they began another ; and thus we passed a delightful evening on the Save, listening to the sweet and simple music of the Alps, and admiring the gorgeous hues cast over the western sky by the setting sun, as they were reflected on the calm surface of the lake-like river ; while the heavy flight of vast flocks of wild-fowl, speeding from their usual fishing ground to their mighty resorts in the fens of the forest, passed over our herds in endless succession. The Tyrolese declined accepting money for their musical treat, and, when we had thanked them, they were soon fast asleep on the deck, the heads of both pillowed on their pack, and probably dreaming of their native mountains, which they would not see until its contents should be disposed of.

Many of the Tyrolese make these excursions annually ;

and they are so well known for the honesty of their dealings, the genuineness of their merchandize, and the modicity of their prices, that they have become formidable competitors of the sons of Israel.

The Sclavonian side of the river was now bare and flat, tame and uninteresting; while the glorious forests, through which we had been sailing almost the whole day, were still continued on the southern and Serbian shore. The moon rose, and promised us a lovely night, but we did not take advantage of it to pursue our way, and we soon cast anchor.

The next place that attracted our attention, when we again glided swiftly down the stream after a comfortless night, was Shabacz, a considerable castle in Serbia, with a small town of white-plastered houses among the trees. Four round towers and a battlemented wall comprised the whole defences of the fort, which had evidently not been built since the art of fortification was improved by the great French engineers of the last century; and had rarely, if ever, been repaired; for it was both ill-planned and in a very dilapidated state. The houses near the river are inhabited by the Turks resident here, and those in the back part of the town are occupied exclusively by the Serbian population. A few boats were lying along the shore for the purpose of being laden with bricks, which are burnt to a great extent on the neighbouring plain of hard clay; and this is the principal industry of the place. The inhabitants, however, are fond of emigrating on trading expeditions; and they are so notorious for their acuteness, that the Jews are said to be completely out-Jewed by them, and always abandon the field where these enterprising and skilful dealers appear.



The country on both sides resumed its picturesque character; the ground being prettily broken, richly wooded, and finely backed by the waving outline of lofty mountains, dark with forests, and enlivened here and there by occasional intervals of bright green natural meadows. The banks were low in the immediate vicinity of the river; so much so, indeed, that they are generally under water during at least six months of the year, leaving, when the river returns to its bed, a number of marshes and ponds, which would make glad the heart of any sportsman. So abundant are the wild-fowl here, that this part of the Save literally teems with them; and so innocent are they of all suspicion with regard to the sanguinary delight in slaughter taken by that insatiable class of mankind, that they allowed even a steamer to come within shot of them. And anglers too, might find an ample scope for the development of their Waltonian tastes and skill, as trouts of thirty pounds weight are plentiful in the Save, not to mention other fish, amongst which the most remarkable are sturgeons six feet long.

In the absence of amateurs of the rod and line, a good deal of sport in a small way seemed to be enjoyed by cranes and herons, which were flying about and plunging their long bills and necks into the water, when they suddenly descended, or stalking gravely along the banks on their stilt-like legs, stooping from time to time to pick up a stray frog, and looking for all the world like ladies holding up their white dresses to cross a puddle. The most interesting of these birds was the *weisse fisch reither*, as the Germans call it, which was pointed out to me. It is a small white heron, and, when flying, it had all the appearance of a sea-gull. Being a bird of passage, it



follows the storks, which are also very numerous here, in their long flight to the river Nile, and, during its short summer visit to the Save, six beautiful feathers grow below the wings, which form a part of the national costume of the Hungarian magnates, being worn in their *calpac*, or fur-cap. These birds are only found here; they are so wild that it is very difficult to get a shot at them, and the precious feathers are so often injured when they are fired at, that the price of the plume is consequently very high, amounting generally to 200 florins, or 20*l.* sterling.

The river is very wide at this place, and there are three large islands lying parallel to each other in its breadth, one of which is nearly two miles in length, while the trees and brushwood on them form a perfect thicket, offering innumerable retreats for game. As we proceeded the Serbian shore became gradually more bold and rocky, until at last it rose in perpendicular cliffs and crags of grey limestone, streaked with red veins of iron, and tufted with shrubs; deep pools, eddying and gurgling with the tortuous flow of the stream, betrayed the treacherous proximity of hidden rocks; but the steamer cut through the rippling water with undeviating course, and soon brought us within sight of Belgrade.

The view of that celebrated city and fortress is much finer from the Save than from the Danube, as it is seen by most travellers who descend that river from Vienna on their way to Constantinople, or *vice versâ*. I took a sketch of it, notwithstanding that it has been so often visited and described, for it is an interesting place; more so, however, from the vicissitudes of its history

than from any intrinsic attraction it possesses. It is a filthy town, half Oriental and half European, without displaying a distinct character of any kind, and offering little that is worthy of remark, either as the capital of a province, or as a military position. But it is impossible to pass altogether unnoticed a locality, which has played so distinguished a part in the wars of the last three centuries.

No town in the world, perhaps, ever stood so many sieges as Belgrade: it was taken by Suleyman I. in the year 1522; by the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, in 1688; again by the Turks, in 1690; by the famous Prince Eugène, in 1717; by Laudon, in 1789; by the Turks, for the third time, in 1791; and by the Serbian hero, Czerny George, in 1806. The fortifications, however, are not such as would be able to hold out against a modern attack so long as they did on these several occasions, for they have never been improved, but merely restored according as they required repairs; and the place, being of no great size, might be better defended, and by a smaller garrison, if the lines were not so much extended, and if detached forts, containing bomb-proof magazines, were raised to command the different fronts. The position is naturally strong, as it is surrounded on three sides by the Save and the Danube, at the confluence of which rivers it stands; and it is also sufficiently high to prevent its being attacked with success from any other point, for the rock is upwards of a hundred feet in height; but the long and low batteries on the water are weak and ill-flanked, and a vigorous assault by a breach in them, which it would hardly be difficult to effect, could not be easily with-

stood in their present state. But Belgrade is no longer of the same degree of importance as it formerly was, for it could not now close the navigation of the two rivers, which would always be practicable for the passage of an army, as well as for trade, by means of steamboats, with less risk than by sailing ships; and there are, moreover, several large islands which might be occupied with advantage to protect steamers from the fire of the fortress.

As the residence of the Prince of Serbia, Belgrade might be expected to make a better show than it does; and, as a city of more than seventy thousand inhabitants, it might certainly have made greater progress than it seems to have done, in the state of half-independence with regard to internal administration, and with the constitutional form of government which the province of Serbia enjoys under the Sultan. But this capital possesses no manufactures of any importance to introduce wealth, and, though trade is apparently active, it is merely as a place of transit that it can claim any degree of commercial estimation.

We crossed the Danube to Semlin, where we purposed embarking for Orsova. This was the largest town of Slavonia that we had yet seen, its population being nearly ten thousand. It is one of the principal stations of the Danube steamers, and it is the most considerable quarantine post on the southern frontier of Austria. Its trade is chiefly carried on by Serbians and Greeks, as there are not many Germans established here, and the Slavonians are anything but a mercantile people.

We walked about the town for an hour or two after our arrival, making our observations on the natives.



The first straight line that we followed led us to a height covered with wretched huts, and called the Zigeunerberg, or Gipsy-hill, from the class of inhabitants dwelling on it; and thence we proceeded to the ruins of the celebrated Johann Hunyad's castle, standing on a conical mound in the neighbourhood; but they possessed little interest. We next visited the market-place, which was crowded with waggons drawn by oxen, and driven by peasants wearing coarse white trowsers, so loose that they looked exactly like long petticoats hanging down to their sandals; while their upper garment was a sheepskin, with the skinny side out, and the hairy side in, as Paddy says. I have often observed how very warmly the peasants of southern climes clothe themselves in summer: when we are as lightly clad as well can be, and suffer miserably from the heat, they walk about at noon in thick woollen dresses, and do not seem to mind it. In Greece this is most remarkable; and I remember that, when an epidemic was raging, they were much less susceptible of its influence than those who followed an opposite system of toilette. Let doctors explain the cause—I only note the effect.

There are a great many shops at Semlin, but a strange confusion of callings appeared to exist: ladies' caps, bonnets, and artificial flowers, for instance, were sold by a grocer; pastry was laid out in a shoemaker's window; and the apothecary dealt in pocket-books and tobacco-pipes, as well as in drugs and herbs. There was no bookseller's shop at Semlin. A bookseller is as good a criterion of a town as any I know, and Semlin fell low in my estimation, when I discovered that it did not



possess one. We remarked a hardware shop at the sign of King Otho, whose full-length portrait, in the Greek costume, and as large as life, was displayed at the door. A coffee-house bore the title of the "Slavisches Caffehaus," which was a bold display of nationality in an Austrian town, and added another testimony to the existence of that spirit amongst the Slavonic nations, considering that it was used as a decoy for customers.

Having sent my passport to be countersigned for Orsova, I returned to the inn to learn the result; and I was then told that what I wished could not be effected. I hurried to the police-office, to inquire into the motives of this singular prohibition to my prosecuting my journey, being tormented, as I went, by certain unpleasant misgivings touching my quondam fellow-passenger, the little officer of the Frontier Corps. No explanation was afforded me; and when I pressed the matter, I was referred to the military authorities. I proceeded to the garrison orderly-room, and addressed myself to an officer who was seated there, representing to him how unreasonable it was that I should be prevented from continuing my journey, without any justifiable motive; and that the only alternative being, that I should leave the Austrian territory, I could not do so by a shorter route than Orsova, unless they forced me to go through the Turkish provinces, which would be an apt illustration of the comparisons drawn between the governments of the two empires, as I should certainly meet with no such impediment in Serbia and Bulgaria.

"Ah, that is just it!" he replied. "Sir, I cannot give you any assistance."

It was evident that my unfortunate antithetical propensities stood in my way, and that what I had said, supposing it to be a most persuasive argument, had, on the contrary, acted as a corroboration of the suspicions raised against me, whatever they might be. I determined to go to the fountain-head, and I asked to see the Commandant. This was at once agreed to, and I was shown into a room where I was received by another officer, whom I conjectured to be the aide-de-camp. To him I stated my case, which he seemed not to have heard of, but he was evidently struck by the fact that his inferiors had objected, and he apparently thought it incumbent on him to do the same. He examined my passport, which he appeared to understand, although it was in English; and he tried for some time in vain to find something to say on the subject, by comparing the different dates and signatures, all of which I proved to be in regular order. At last he hoped to hit the right nail on the head, and he declared triumphantly that the term had expired, as the passport had been granted for a year, and fifteen months had elapsed since I had received it. I answered that the sign manual and seal of an ambassador renewed the term, and that he might perceive the observance of that formality at the British Embassy of Paris. Being foiled on every point, but still anxious to dispute the matter, he left the room with the precious document. Returning after a few minutes, he quietly sat down and left me to my reflections. At last an elderly officer opened the door, and said to the aide-de-camp,—“Where is the English gentleman?”

I bowed. He invited me to follow him, and treated

me with marked politeness. When we were in the next room, he closed the door, and offered me a chair. He then commenced a desultory conversation on things in general, which we kept up for some time on the most friendly terms possible ; and finally he remarked that he had heard I wished to proceed to Orsova. I replied in the affirmative, mentally ejaculating :—

“ Now comes the tug of war ! ”

But I was mistaken, for he merely took my passport from the table in silence, and countersigned it for Orsova, affixing his name and rank :—

“ I, Kreutner, Major General, commanding the town, garrison, and district of Semlin.”

He handed it to me in the most courteous manner, adding :—

“ You will now meet with no further difficulty ; I wish you a prosperous journey, Sir.”

I thanked him, and took leave, resolved on thus recording his name, as being that of a most gentlemanly man, and of an officer who is superior to the absurd prejudices and suspicions which pervade the administration of his country.

My next care was to get some gold exchanged for bank-notes, by which transaction I would gain nearly thirty per cent. besides keeping a more convenient medium of currency at my command. I applied to the innkeeper, who was a Greek, and he at once volunteered to make me acquainted with one of the first merchants of the place, who, he said, was a countryman of his. I accepted his proposal, and we proceeded together to the counting-house of his friend. After a formal introduction

to the old gentleman, I stated my request, which he immediately complied with. I put a number of gold pieces into his hand. He counted them carelessly, and went to his iron chest, which he opened. I remarked, however, that, when apparently looking at the Vienna newspaper, and telling me what the exchange was, he minutely examined my coins, one by one; then, calculating the amount in notes, he counted them and gave them to me. I hurriedly glanced over them, and, after a little conversation, I left him with the expression of my acknowledgment of the favour he had done me, as I considered myself to be under a certain degree of obligation to him, on account of his profit having been merely that of the regular exchange, without commission or other per-centage; but, when I reached the inn, I looked at the Vienna newspaper of the same date, and perceived that he had misquoted the rate, and, on again counting the notes, I found that he had cheated me even on that amount. He had counted them several times himself, and I could not therefore suppose it to be a mistake; but, having reflected that a man who was capable of intentionally purloining a small sum in so mean a manner, would not readily disgorge his pilferings without my taking more trouble than the affair was worth, and that any such attempt on my part would likewise be of most doubtful success, I determined on leaving him to the future condemnation of his own conscience, if such a piece of furniture could exist in a house so badly set in order.

In the afternoon we walked out of the town, which, we now saw, is weakly defended on the land-side by a



small ditch and palisade ; we proceeded about half-a-mile along a broad road, with a line of large trees on each side, and then reached a public garden, where several groups of Semlin cits were eating bread and cheese and drinking beer in front of a sort of coffee-house. Three Turks, in their *dolamas* and turbans, were also sipping the German beverage in silent gravity, while two pretty girls were playing an accompaniment on harps to the flute and violin of a young man, and, strange to say, of another young woman. When they had finished a lively air, one of the stately Osmanlis expressed his satisfaction by taking his pipe from his mouth and gracefully approaching the jewelled amber to the rosy lips of one of the fair harpers ; she burst out laughing, to the utter astonishment and indignation of the son of Osman, who drew back in proud reserve, and cast a glance of withering scorn and contempt around him.

We were attracted by a numerous chorus of female voices, which seemed to emanate from a large building in the neighbourhood. On reaching it, we found that it was a silk winding establishment, and about fifty young girls were singing together as they turned the reels, or sat at the cauldrons full of cocoons. We inquired to whom it belonged, and were told that it was the property of the same Greek merchant who had robbed me of a few *zwanzigers* in the morning. Poor girls ! After a hard day's work, they were probably the victims of a similar process, and they could not afford to lose much on their hard-earned wages, which did not exceed, as I was told, three-pence sterling per diem ; but they sang not the less merrily.

We were up before sunrise, on the following morning, and ready to embark in the steamer for Orsova. Another Greek ! The innkeeper, who had told us the price of our rooms when we took possession of them, had the effrontery to ask a higher payment when we were about to leave them. He had probably understood the trick of his fellow-countryman, and wished to try his hand also on the verdant gentleman, who had quietly submitted to the imposition ; but it availed him nothing, as he had not been so very Greek as the merchant, inasmuch as his attempt, though quite as dishonest, was less adroit, and, moreover, the greenness of the victim had given place to the fiery hues of anger ; and, rather than face the storm, the Hellene withdrew his rash demand.

## CHAPTER VI.

DANUBE STEAMER—POPULATION OF HUNGARY—ORIGIN OF THE LATE WAR—  
KOSSUTH—A YOUNG SLOVAC—OLD FATHER BEM.

THERE were ninety passengers on board the Danube steamer ; Hungarians, Serbians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Germans, and Jews, both men and women, all huddled together on the deck ; in the cabin, however, there were not many, as most of them were travelling short distances and had taken deck-places. We conversed a good deal with some of them, and we found, as is frequently the case, that acquaintances, thus irregularly formed, can become more agreeable than those established by formal introduction. But there is something unwarrantably indiscreet in the manner of accosting one, which is often practised by foreigners ; and several persons in the steamer, apparently respectable, saw no impropriety in commencing a conversation by such point-blank questions as the following :—" Who are you ?" " Where are you going ?" and " What is the object of your journey ?" We received their advances, however, with the best grace we could, in the hope of obtaining information from them ; and, as there were three or four most intelligent and well-informed persons amongst the passengers, who had taken an active part in the late insurrectionary war of Hungary, and

who spoke openly and well on the subject, we heard much that was interesting, both as regarded the past vicissitudes and the present condition of the country. These steamers had on many occasions been pressed into the service both of Hungary and of Austria, during the struggle between them; and one of the officers of the vessel we were in, by birth a Frenchman, joined in our conversations, adding such shrewd remarks as proved him to have been an impartial observer. He said that the company which he served had invariably been better treated by the Hungarians than by the Austrians, when their steamers had been forcibly made use of.

To the north was an immense plain, rich in agricultural resources, and literally teeming with luxuriant vegetation, stretching back to the distant mountains, which formed one continuous chain of heights covered with valuable timber, and containing mineral wealth to an incalculable amount; while the eye could trace, as we proceeded rapidly along, the courses of several navigable rivers, ready to convey the produce of the country to the Danube and the Black Sea, or to the Adriatic by the Save and the *Louisenstrasse*. The soil, fertile and extensive; the inhabitants, hardy, enterprising and laborious; the elements of abundance everywhere; and yet misery stared one in the face. Are the people of Hungary responsible for their own wretched condition? Or is this an illustration of the paternal rule of the Austrian emperor? The fundamental principle of Imperial consolidation is respect for the national and historical peculiarities of the various races which form the empire; it has been the sole secret of British success in India; its neglect



is the primary cause of the decline of Austria. No empire in the world ever required the practice of that theory more fully than this, and in no part of it has it been so completely disregarded as here.

The kingdom of Hungary, with Transylvania and Croatia, is about the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and it has a population of nearly 15,000,000. Of these the Magyars are 5,000,000 in number; the Slavonians, who are called in Hungary, Russniacs and Slovacs, (perhaps by an easy anagram of the word *Slavo*,) amount to 6,000,000; there are upwards of 1,600,000 Germans, Jews, and Gypsies; and in the eastern territory the descendants of Trajan's Dacian colonies, now known as the Wallachs or Roumans, form a distinct nation of 3,000,000, about as many more of them being subjects of the Sultan. There are in Europe three populations altogether foreign to the great races of the continent, and, although they are placed at considerable distances from each other, some ethnologists attribute to them a similarity of origin; these are the Finns on the shores of the Baltic, the Basques of Spain, and the Magyars of Hungary. The latter dispute their being a cognate people with the other two, and claim descent from the Huns of Attila, contending that they are a Tatar tribe which inhabited the western slope of the Ural chain in about 65° of N. latitude. They say that they received their name from the waggons, called in their language *madjar*, in which they travelled when they came to the banks of the Danube, by traversing the shores of the Sea of Azof and the Crimea. This migration took place about the end of the 9th century, under the guidance of the

celebrated Arpad. His posterity ruled the Magyars for more than a hundred years as Dukes of Hungary, until Stephen, surnamed the Holy, received from the Pope, in acknowledgment of his zeal in the cause of Christianity, the gift of a crown and a cross, in virtue of which he was afterwards styled King and Apostle. At the beginning of the 14th century, the dynasty of Arpad became extinct, and a foreign prince was elected to occupy the throne. Internal dissensions then commenced as in Poland, where that invariable brand of discord, an elective monarchy, also existed; and it was not until Hungary was attacked by the Turks under Sultan Suleyman in 1526, that union was restored among the turbulent nobles; but it did not save the country, for the disastrous battle of Mohacs gave rise to a civil war, which finished by placing the crown of St. Stephen on the head of Ferdinand I. of Austria; and the House of Hapsburgh has continued ever since to be its elective sovereigns. It was the Austrian alliance that then prevented Hungary from becoming permanently a province of Turkey; but the Magyars cleared off that debt most nobly, if such it can be considered, when they rallied round the throne of Maria Theresa in 1741; and they also became the benefactors of Austria, when their Palatine appealed to their Diet in 1812, by declaring that "Hungary alone could save the Empire, as she had previously done." These are their historical antecedents; have their relative positions been rightly appreciated by Austria? Contemporary history judges that question. With regard to their national peculiarities, the Emperors have acted with a degree of blindness and infatuation equal only to their injustice.

The Magyars are the nobles of Hungary, while the Slavonians and Roumans are their yeomen. The former is one of the most vigorous races of Europe, and, except the nobility of Poland and that of Great Britain, it is the only aristocracy in Europe which has not merited and earned the contempt of their respective fellow-countrymen.

If it still possesses some of the vices of the feudal age, it has also retained many of the virtues of that era of chivalry. The patriotism of the Magyars is heroic, and they abhor treachery and bad faith, while their turbulence and strong passions are capable of ultimately settling down to active energy and salutary vigour; and in the meantime these qualities render their spirit of nationality pre-eminently enthusiastic, and indomitably tenacious. Their political opinions are essentially liberal. In number they surpass every other existing patrician order, as their privileges were granted to each individual who killed a Turk in battle: a class of pauper nobles was thus created, but in moral character the poorest of them is as proud and independent as the four princely families of Esterhazy, Batthyani, Grassalkovitz, and Palfi.

After the general settlement of European destinies, which resulted in 1815 from the fall of their hitherto great ordainer, Napoleon Buonaparte, and after kings and states had resumed the crowns and their boundaries, usurped and invaded by that bold adventurer, a period of repose seemed necessary for the recovery of national energies, enfeebled and distracted by universal convulsions. One nation was at length roused by the ambition of a family to substitute a junior branch of



their royal house for the elder, and the craftiness of the individual deluded the people into the belief that such a change would conciliate all their wants and wishes. Another, more uncompromising, rose in arms against the northern monarch who had enthralled it, and was again crushed beneath the overwhelming weight of a great empire. And in the southern regions of Europe, several partial attempts to throw off a galling yoke, were speedily suppressed by physical superiority of strength.

In the German states alone, not a word was whispered of the oppression of foreign rulers, or of the desire of national independence; not a thought of glory was conceived beyond the reminiscences of the great battle of Leipsic and the exploits of old Blucher; and not a head but bowed before the despotic glance of Metternich. French revolutions, Polish insurrections, and Italian conspiracies, were familiar ideas; but a political movement in Austria had never been contemplated as a contingency lying within the range of probabilities. Few persons were even aware of the fact that, under the absolute sceptres of the Kaisers, a nation differing from the Germans in origin, character, and language, more powerful in numbers, talent, valour, and moral worth, and long habituated to the representative system of government, was progressively maturing its plans and resources for a vigorous effort to recover those liberal institutions which had at last been virtually wrested from it by an undue application of the authority vested in the Emperor of Austria by his election as King of Hungary.

Yet such was the case. Amidst the assemblage of States which composed the Austrian empire, stood the



ancient kingdom of Hungary,—a kingdom whose organization was so essentially different from that of the others, that it became a vital question with the government to reduce it to the common standard of absolute rule, lest they should all violently assimilate themselves to it by rising to the level of that one in which a contrary system existed. From time immemorial had Hungary preserved her independent administration and peculiar forms of legislation, notwithstanding that she had annexed herself to Austria; no artifice of the latter had prevailed, during the lapse of several centuries, to deprive her of her institutions; and the Pragmatical Sanction, as it was called, of Charles VI. was the sole tie which united the two heterogeneous countries. As soon as a single paragraph of that document should be abrogated, the bond between them must fall to the ground, a violent struggle must ensue, and considering the respective strength of the two parties, who but a madman would put his hand to such a deed? Austria was mad enough to do it, illustrating the old remark, “*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*”

By the Pragmatical Sanction, the reciprocal relations were so established, that Hungary should be considered inseparable from Austria; but the Constitution of 1790 interpreted the conditions at greater length by especially stipulating that the kingdom should remain as a free State attached to the Empire, altogether independent of it in its legislative and administrative systems. The Hungarian opposition to the Austrian policy was raised by the recent attempts of the Imperial cabinet to govern the kingdom directly, instead of adhering exclusively to the

right enjoyed by the House of Hapsburgh to reign over it through the medium of a national administration. The Magyar party formed the nucleus of this opposition.

Surrounded by the Slavonian and Rouman populations of Hungary, that people has retained its peculiar character, customs, and language, without amalgamating with them; and their resolute energy, high mettle, and superior intellect alone have prevented the more numerous races inhabiting the same country from becoming predominant. The Magyar is of a robust constitution, and of a warlike disposition; determined and persevering in the pursuit of his purpose; mild when unmolested, but of indomitable obstinacy if his rights are invaded, and of implacable resentment when his pride is hurt; for the Magyar is more proud even than the Spaniard. In appearance he is generally tall, slight, and strong; small eyes, prominent brows, and high cheek-bones indicate his Tatar origin; and his dark complexion is of a totally different character from that of the southern Europeans, being of a purely Oriental stamp.

The disaffection of the Magyar population towards Austria had been growing for many years, in proportion as the systematic endeavours of the Emperor to incorporate their government with that of the other states assumed a gradually increasing appearance of aggression. Many individuals boldly and openly combatted the tendency of their rulers to destroy their national institutions, which consisted in a double representation, by an Upper and Lower House of Parliament, with other privileges sanctioned by time, and become inherent in the existence of the kingdom; and the most distinguished leaders of

this patriotic band were Wesseleny, Ballogh, Carl Huszar, Louis Batthyani, Francis Deak, and several others. But one, far more vigorous and powerful as a speaker than any of these, soon arose to advocate their cause, and rendered his name identical with it all over Europe. This was Louis Kossuth. If his merits as a statesman be doubtful, his eloquence, at least, is incontestible; and he soon became the first orator of the national party.

When the Parisian revolution of February, 1848, was consummated, he made a speech on the subject, in which he openly called on the Lower House to proclaim the independence of the country from an empire which had violated all the conditions of their union: it was received with enthusiasm, and the idea spread rapidly from the centre of the kingdom to its circumference, firing every class of the population with the most exalted zeal for their country, and striking terror and dismay into the breasts of their rulers at Vienna. It was also hailed by the German people with shouts of joy, and it was the immediate cause of the outbreak of insurrection in the city of the Cæsars, where Kossuth's speech was publicly read by a student to a mob, which the Archduke Albert ordered his soldiers to disperse.

Two days later, several steamers reached Vienna from Pesth and Presburgh, crowded with Hungarians eager to join the insurgents; Kossuth was among them. He frequently addressed the people of Vienna. He did not allow himself, however, to be run away with by the exultation arising from the first flush of success, but restricted his views for his country to the limits of strict



legality ; and, when taking advantage of the panic which had fallen on the Emperor and his cabinet to state the demands of the Hungarians, he merely claimed for them what they were justly entitled to. These claims consisted in the formation of a purely Hungarian administration, and the transfer to it of the government of the Military Frontiers, which had hitherto been conducted in the War Office at Vienna. Panic-stricken and powerless as the Imperial Cabinet then was, it made these concessions without resistance ; and the Hungarian chiefs returned to Presburgh, whence they immediately removed the seat of the legislature to Pesth, the ancient capital of the kingdom.

The new administration was formed. Louis Batthyani became the President, and Kossuth was appointed Minister of Finance. The latter however was, in fact, the leading spirit and the soul of the government. It set to work assiduously to remodel the organization of the country.

When the Austrian government had somewhat recovered its lost position through the exploits of Windischgrätz and of Jellachich with his Croats at Vienna, and when the Emperor had regained sufficient courage to face the difficulties and dangers by which he was surrounded, the first thought was directed towards Hungary, and schemes of violent retractation of the granted boons were entertained. This was not only folly—it was delirium. Intrigues were set on foot in Croatia, Sclavonia, and the Military Frontiers. A spirit of Sclavonian nationality was roused against Magyarism. Those provinces seceded from the Hungarian kingdom,



and declared their adhesion to the re-established government at Vienna, and a hostile feeling was fomented between the Croats and Hungarians. Kossuth, perceiving the danger, addressed the Parliament on the subject, explaining the critical situation in which Hungary was placed, and asking for a vote of forty-two millions of florins for the purpose of raising an army of two hundred thousand men to defend the country. The effect produced by his eloquence was such, that the assembly rose to a man and unanimously voted the supplies. The Emperor was invited in the most cordial terms to prefer Pesth, as king of Hungary, to Innspruck, where he had taken refuge from the disturbances of Vienna, as count of the Tyrol. He was formally and respectfully requested to come and reign over his Hungarian subjects as long as he should think fit to remain absent from his German capital; and he was informed that, if such were his wish, they would receive with gratitude a king of his own selection from amongst the members of his family, the young Archduke Francis Joseph, now Emperor, being indicated as more especially acceptable to the nation. But the spirit of Maria Theresa was extinct in the imperial house of Austria, and the most impotent infatuation had taken its place. The friendly proposals were rejected, the resentful feelings were persisted in, and warlike preparations were commenced. Another deputation was sent to the Emperor, when he returned to Vienna, consisting of a hundred and twenty members of the Legislature, selected from both houses of Parliament. They remonstrated with profound deference, but with honourable firmness,

against his conduct as king of Hungary, and they again stated their just claims. An answer was returned in direct contradiction to the respective legal rights of the two parties. All the demands of the Hungarians were coldly negatived, and, on the same day, Jellachich passed the river Drave with eighteen thousand men, of regular troops, and thirty-six thousand Croats, and other Slavonians. He thus advanced upon Hungary without any previous declaration on the part of the Austrian government.

Kossuth instantly published an address to the Hungarian nation, calling upon them to take up arms in defence of their country and hereditary privileges. It was nobly responded to; for legions of volunteers were formed, people of all classes enrolled themselves in their ranks, and the most active preparations for determined resistance were made on all sides. Kossuth then visited some of the provinces, encouraging and inciting their inhabitants to join the national army. Everywhere he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Towns were illuminated when he entered them, and royal honours were awarded to him, while his endeavours were in every respect crowned with the most brilliant success.

An Imperial Manifesto, addressed to all the military authorities in Hungary and to the soldiers serving under them, both of the regular troops and of the national militia, was then sent from Vienna. It ordered them to receive Count Lamberg, a German general, as their Commander-in-Chief, and to obey him as such on his arrival at Pesth for the purpose of forcibly suppressing the dissensions existing in Hungary, and with the view

of bringing the Hungarians immediately back to their previous state of peaceful allegiance to the Emperor. An extraordinary meeting of the Parliament was called. Kossuth declared this manifesto to be illegal, because it had been issued without the concurrence of the Hungarian ministry, as required by the Constitution, which bore the Emperor's sign and seal of ratification and sanction; and he read a proclamation which he proposed that the parliament should publish; it was unanimously adopted. This appeal to the army and to the nation fully explained the bearings of their position, and, in the name of the law and of the constitution, it enjoined the troops to refuse obedience to Count Lamberg, while it summoned the people to defend the country which was unjustly invaded.

The influence of Kossuth over his fellow-countrymen was exemplified on this occasion by an act, unwarrantable, it is true, and most cruel, but the blame must be shared at least by those who wantonly provoked them to commit it. The answer of the Hungarians to the proclamation was unequivocal; when Count Lamberg was recognised driving into the town of Pesth, he was dragged from his carriage by an infuriated mob, and murdered on the spot. The Parliament addressed to the Emperor a declaration of their regret and horror of this deed, and resolved that the murderers should be brought to justice.

The Archduke Stephen, who was invested with the dignity of Palatine of Hungary, fled from Pesth to Vienna. The Emperor being no longer represented in the country, the Legislature took the direction of affairs



into their own hands. A committee for the defence of the country was formed, of which Kossuth was named President, and this body thenceforth became the executive government.

Then commenced that chivalrous and sanguinary war which furnished the topic of several most interesting conversations with our fellow-passengers on board the Danube steamer; a war which originated in the bad faith of Austria towards Hungary, which was precipitated to open hostilities by the traditional pusillanimity of the Imperial family, who screened themselves behind their armies, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the irritated feelings of their subjects; and which was concluded in their favour by the cooperation of the only other European power that is capable of trampling on treaties and acknowledged rights, for the purpose of gratifying the insatiable and unprincipled ambition of a dynasty.

A young Slovak was leaning against the bulwark, near where we stood on the deck of the steamer, soon after leaving Semlin; his embroidered jacket and his fur cap indicated that he was a Hungarian, and his proud and open countenance, betraying that bold spirit of independence which is characteristic of the nation, at once convinced me that he was not such an one as could have remained indifferent to their late struggle for freedom, or would have abstained from throwing his life into the scale, which was fated to kick the beam when the balance was turned by the weight of another empire; and I was wondering what part he had acted in the tragic drama just concluded, when a crutch in his hand attracted my attention, and I discovered a single



Hessian boot. I could not resist the temptation, and went to speak to him, but he was master of very few words of German, and I could only understand that he had been a volunteer with the gallant old Bem, and that a cannon ball had taken off his leg at the battle against the Russians under the walls of Hermannstadt, in Transylvania. An elderly gentleman of military appearance then approached us, and after talking some time in Hungarian to the young soldier, offered me his assistance as interpreter in the most polite manner. Through him I learnt, that the gallant youth's horse having at the same time been shot under him, he was left on the field when the Hungarians entered the town during the night at the point of the bayonet. The horrors of that cold winter night, he said, beggared all description; the carcase of a horse lying on one of his legs, while the other was mutilated and shattered to pieces; his body writhing with agony, and his mouth parched with thirst; wolves prowling about amongst the dead and the dying; and the routed Russians scouring the plain, galloping over the bodies of their prostrate and disabled, though victorious enemies, and firing upon them or thrusting at them with their long lances as they hurried furiously from the conquered city. At last the day dawned, after a night which had appeared to him interminable, and he was conveyed into Hermannstadt to undergo a frightful amputation. The wound was now closed; but, as he still suffered pain, he was on his way to the mineral baths of Mehadia, of which he had been advised to try the effects.

That campaign of General Bem's was one of the most

brilliant exploits existing in the annals of modern warfare. The old Polish hero raised, in an astonishingly short space of time, an army of thirty thousand men, well provided with artillery and ammunition; he drove the Austrian troops out of Transylvania towards the north, retraced his steps with unprecedented rapidity to attack the towns of Cronstadt and Hermannstadt, the Austrian garrisons of which had petitioned for assistance from the Russian army in Wallachia, and beat his enemy at both places successively, with a degree of activity which resembled ubiquity. General Lüders, the officer commanding the Russians, had despatched two columns under General Engelhardt and Colonel Scariatin. The latter reached Hermannstadt; Bem attacked him, killed eleven hundred men, took a thousand prisoners besides artillery and ammunition, and drove him back to the Red Tower in the Carpathian Mountains. Engelhardt had taken up his position in the meantime, but the old General went by forced marches to meet him; the Russians could not stand before him, and they also recrossed the frontier in rapid flight.

His glory then began to wane. Old Father Bem, as the Hungarians called him, had formerly served in the same Russian regiment in which General Lüders had commenced his military career: when he heard of the advance of the main body of Russians, he said to his staff:—

“Nous allons voir ce que c’est que ce petit Lüders.” *Le petit Lüders*, or rather the strong force which he commanded, proved too much for him; the Hungarians were driven out of Cronstadt; the Russians marched

on Hermannstadt ; and the insurgents laid down their arms. Bem was not discouraged ; he assembled the remains of his army, amounting to twenty thousand men, with fourteen pieces of cannon, and attempted to continue the war. He marched on Hermannstadt, and defeated the Russians under General Hasford ; but Lüders appeared on the following day, and, when the dauntless Pole gave battle, he was soon overpowered. The Russian division then joined the army in the centre of Hungary, adding to their overwhelming numbers ; and when they had succeeded, together with the Austrians, in suppressing the general insurrection, poor Bem took refuge in the Turkish territory, there to die miserably of a fever.

## CHAPTER VII.

## RESOURCES OF HUNGARY—INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

WE steamed gaily along between the wooded hills of Serbia and the wide plains of Hungary. No less than 10,000,000 of sheep, besides horned cattle and swine, are said to be fed on the latter; and this is one of the principal produce of the country, for the Magyars have little to boast of in the way of manufactures; and with 120,000,000 of bushels of grain, and 20,000,000 of *eimers* of wine, their pasturage makes up the sum of their resources. The mines also form a profitable item, though ill-worked.

A Croatian soldier was sleeping under a carriage that sheltered him from the burning rays of the sun, on the deck of the steamer, and I perceived the young Hungarian gazing on the countenance of the sleeper with an expression of implacable hatred, which told of the fierce passions roused by civil war; for the Slovacs and the Croats are one people, although they fought last year as deadly foes. I drew the attention of our obliging interpreter to that inexorable glance of scorn, and he remarked that it could not be otherwise, after the conduct of the Croatian troops. He said that he had served as a Major under General Moga, in the first action of the war, when



Jellachich was advancing with his hordes of wild banditti, plundering and burning the Hungarian villages, and killing their inhabitants of all ages and of both sexes. The national troops met them at Velencze, and, although they numbered only half the force of the invaders, they completely routed them, after a hard day's fighting and great slaughter. My informant added that he, as well as many others of the Magyar officers, had received written proposals from the Austrian general, before the engagement, offering them the most advantageous terms if they would desert their colours and join him: they all replied that their cannon would convey their answer. It was officially reported on that occasion that Jellachich had made some of his regular troops fire on his Croatians from behind, in order to force them to attack the Hungarians; and the Croatian prisoners, who were taken, declared that they fought against them with the greatest reluctance; it thus appears that the roving Croats were lured on by plunder, and, even when reaping an abundant harvest, they were unwilling to oppose the Hungarians, for their personal bravery cannot be doubted. The communicative Magyar required little pressing to induce him to relate the incidents of that first campaign; and although he displayed a strong spirit of nationality, with its concomitant prejudices, the information which I afterwards gathered from other sources proved the correctness of most of his statements and views on the subject.

The Ban, he said, immediately requested an armistice of three days, and Moga granted it; but, regardless of his military honour and renown, the former broke it, and

retreated by a flank march, abandoning his sick and wounded. He tried to obtain admission, first at Comorn, and then at Presburgh; in both places he was refused; and he continued his flight from Hungary to Vienna, where he arrived in time to play his well-known part in the Austrian insurrection.

The division of General Roth and Philipovich, consisting of 10,000 Croats, was skilfully out-manceuvred by the gallant Perczel, who had only 4,000 Magyars under his command; and he took them all prisoners, and brought them in triumph to Pesth, where they were treated with the greatest generosity. After having sworn not again to take up arms against the Hungarian cause, they were safely escorted to their homes and set at liberty, with the exception of their two leaders, who were tried as traitors to their country. Another false Hungarian of high rank was also then taken, who had been discovered providing arms for the enemy, while he was in the service of Hungary; and he was summarily tried and hung by the Commandant of Csepel: the judge who sentenced Count Eugene Zichy for treason, was the traitor Arthur Georgey, then an obscure Major in charge of a small island. Hitherto, the Magyar cause seemed promising, and the fall of the Austrian empire was predicted as an inevitable event. Such, in a few words, were the results of the Croatian invasion, which the Ban Jellachich had boasted, would enable his army to celebrate the Emperor's birthday at Pesth; and he had even directed, when he entered Hungary, that all letters for himself and his officers should be addressed, *poste restante*, to the capital of that kingdom.

At the mention of Georgey's name, coupled with so vituperative an epithet, another of the passengers approached us, and listened to our conversation. He was a tall young man, of mild and modest bearing, and he would have been exceedingly handsome if a deep scar, still red and inflamed, though healed, had not crossed his forehead so low that it seemed to unite his eye-brows which were both disfigured by it.

"Did you say the *traitor* Arthur Georgey, Mein Herr?" inquired he, when the other had ceased talking.

"I did, and I repeat it!" replied the elder Magyar fiercely.

"It is not by assertion," said the young man quietly, "that allegations can be proved, especially in cases where the existence of positive evidence is almost impossible; for, if Georgey was bribed, no one is likely to know it with any degree of certainty excepting those who bribed him, and they would not betray him. As you are giving information regarding our war to a stranger," continued he, bowing to me, "it is but fair to tell him that there are two opinions in Hungary on the subject of Georgey's conduct."

A violent discussion here ensued, the ex-Major accusing the Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian army, and the young officer defending him; for the latter mentioned in the course of his argument that he had served in one of the national regiments of hussars; and the conversation would inevitably have degenerated to an altercation if he had not kept his temper better than my first acquaintance. I tried to put an end to the scene, which was far from being productive of conviction on either



side, by asking the hussar to give me some account of Georgey's principal actions, which he did most willingly, and with an enthusiastic, though unassuming, manner.

When the war with the Hungarians was about to be renewed by the Emperor, after the failure of Jellachich, they had had the time, through the indefatigable exertions of Kossuth, to raise a considerable army, formed by the voluntary equipment of almost all who were capable of bearing arms; and further reinforcements were added by the desertion of Hungarian regiments serving in other parts of the empire, who joined the national standard at Pesth. The most remarkable instances of these two demonstrations of patriotism had been furnished by the provincial town of Szegedin, which sent no less than fourteen thousand recruits to the capital; and by the regiment of hussars of Prince William, which left its quarters in Bohemia and marched in a body to Pesth. An Imperial Manifesto had reached the Hungarian government, annulling the Constitution and appointing another ministry; the Parliament had met and declared both acts to be illegal, and not founded on any right or authority vested in the Emperor. This aggression on the part of Austria had called forth a retaliation of a more positive and palpable nature. Moga had been ordered to march with his army to assist the Viennese in their struggle with the Imperial troops, and to attack Jellachich wherever he could find him. Kossuth had gone himself, and had been received at Comorn with general rejoicings, such as few sovereigns inspire; the bells having been rung, and the streets strewn with flowers when he passed; he had harangued the population, and



eight thousand volunteers had joined his army on the spot. At Raab, similar demonstrations had been made; and he had proceeded to Vienna, more as a conqueror returning from battle than as a chief leading his army to meet the enemy. But when he encountered Jella-chich at Schwechat, he found a hostile force twice as numerous as his own, with artillery three times as strong. He had been defeated, and obliged to return crest-fallen to Pesth.

The rupture between the Emperor and his kingdom of Hungary had then become irreconcilable, and the existence of their relations as sovereign and subjects could thenceforth be continued only by the subjugation of the latter. This had been fully understood, and decreed as a necessary alternative; a vast plan of simultaneous attack on several different points had been laid down; and a large force had been prepared for the general invasion of the country. Prince Windischgrätz, the Commander-in-Chief, had opened the campaign by assailing the villages of Carlsdorf and Neudorf; the four field-marsals, Simunich, Schlick, Puchner, and Nugent, had marched on Tyrnau, Eperies, Arad, and Lower Hungary, while Suplikacs, the Voivode of Austrian Serbia, had occupied the country near the confluence of the rivers Danube and Theiss. The Hungarians under Georgey had not ventured to give battle, but had retreated in good order, carrying with them or destroying the provisions to be found on their way. The Emperor, in the meantime, had abdicated his throne, and his nephew had ascended it. The Hungarians had declared that the latter was not their lawful sovereign, and had

protested against his assuming the title of King of Hungary, which they qualified as a usurpation, because they had refused to concur in his elevation to their throne, as had always been considered indispensable by his predecessors. The country was, therefore, without a sovereign, and the government had remained exclusively in the hands of Kossuth.

The Hungarian army was a hundred thousand strong; but, as a great part of it was engaged in repressing the dissensions among the Serbians and other Slavonian tribes of Hungary, not more than fifty-five thousand men had been able to meet the Austrian force, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand. Unequal to cope with their advantages over them in action; the Hungarians had retired by degrees, abandoning even their capital, having transferred the seat of government to Debreczin.

It is evident that the Austrians then committed two great faults, which deprived them of the fruits of their success: Prince Windischgrätz hesitated to risk his army on the other side of the Theiss, at a time when a prompt advance might have quelled the insurrection for ever: and he did not invalidate the paper currency of Kossuth, by which means he might have annihilated the only pecuniary resources available by the Hungarians for carrying on the war. The effects of these errors was, that when hostilities were renewed, the insurgents brought a more numerous and better equipped army into the field than the emperor's troops could cope with.

Perczel had, therefore, turned the position of Ottinger,

who was obliged to retire; Georgey, having marched on Waitzen, had boldly attacked the enemy in the rear; the celebrated Polish general Dembinski, had defeated Schlick near Tokay; and finally, Georgey and Dembinski, having effected the junction of their divisions, amounting to 50,000 men, with 150 pieces of artillery, had crossed the Theiss and marched on Pesth. Windischgrätz, resolved on engaging a pitched battle, in the hope of thus being able to strike a decisive blow, had forced the Hungarians, after four days' hard fighting, to return to the left bank of the river; but their loss had not been great, and their ranks had remained unbroken; for the Austrians, by an unaccountable blunder, had not molested their passage, when they might have put an end to the war by another attack. The Hungarians had then laid siege to Arad. Klapka, having united his 20,000 men to the 50,000 already under the orders of Georgey, and having brought fifty more guns with him, they had made a double movement in advance. Schlick had been again driven back at Slatwan; Windischgrätz had supported him by another division; and Jellachich had been ordered to concentrate his force. A council of war was held at Aszod. Five months had passed, and the insurgents were more enterprising than ever. The Cabinet at Vienna had become alarmed. General de Welden had been sent to supersede Prince Windischgrätz, with reinforcements under the command of General Wohlgemuth, the latter having just returned from Italy with a high military renown. Such was the position of affairs when that series of brilliant exploits commenced, which immediately placed Georgey in the rank of the first captains of the age, and which



were so glowingly described to me by the young officer of Hussars in the steamer.

The hero of the Italian campaign was soon defeated; Georgey moved his army with a degree of activity quite surprising, and triumphantly raised the blockade of Comorn from the Danube to the Waag; and after reinforcing its garrison, he opened the communications between the different divisions of the national army. General Guyon, an Irish gentleman settled in Hungary, next successfully attacked the enemy in another direction. Welden, perceiving the dangerous position of the Austrian forces, evacuated Pesth, leaving only three battalions in the fortress of Ofen, and concentrated the main body of his troops for the defence of Presburg and Eszeck. Jellachich attempted to cover his retreat with his whole division; but Georgey was on the alert; he crossed to the right bank of the river, and fell upon the corps of Field-marshal Simunich. This skilful manœuvre would have resulted in the total defeat of the Austrian army, if it had not been met by a counter-movement, equally prompt and gallant, on the part of Schlick, who thus saved his fellow-countrymen from utter destruction, although they were obliged to retreat in disorder; and they were soon driven back to the same point where Windischgrätz had so lately entered Hungary.

It was in that action, between the troops of Georgey and Simunich, that the young Magyar had received the sabre-cut which furrowed his brows so deeply. He was attacked by two cuirassiers, who had turned to face him in the pursuit on perceiving that the speed of his horse had exposed him alone in front of his squadron; one of



the Germans rushed upon him, and the weight of his horse, in the shock, threw that of the Magyar on his haunches; the other seized his fur cap from behind with one hand, while he dealt him a fearful blow on the head with the other; the chin-strap broke, and laid his forehead bare as the heavy sabre fell; he was blinded by the blood gushing from the wound, and, receiving another blow from the butt-end of a pistol, he rolled from his horse insensible to the ground. He had not lost his consciousness sufficiently, however, not to be aware that his hussars had charged over him in their impetuous fury; but, as often happens by a strange coincidence, or by the instinct of the horses, not a hoof had touched him, and he was afterwards picked up and conveyed to the hospital by the sutler's wife, who was following her regiment in a covered cart.

It may be asked how a powerful and regularly disciplined army should thus have succumbed before a force chiefly composed of volunteers. First, there was the active stimulus of patriotic enthusiasm on the side of the Hungarians, who are by nature a brave and warlike people; and next, their generals were more able and energetic than those of Austria; and they were, above all, more confident, for in strategy, as in diplomacy, assurance is the principal element of success. But the immediate cause of failure on the part of the Emperor's troops was, that more than half of their disposable force was divided in weak columns, which, acting independently of each other, and in diverging directions, always left to the Hungarians the advantage of keeping an internal line, and of thus being able to attack them

individually with superior numbers, and to prevent their junction at will. If their left wing, instead of being formed of three detached corps under Schlick, Simunich, and Götz, had been united in one great column at the time when Pesth was occupied, it might have taken up a strong position on the road from Waitzen to Rima Szambath, and Georgey would not then have risked his bold movement towards the north, which placed Schlick's division in such imminent peril, paralysed his operations, and cut off the communications of the army. Windischgrätz in that case would have had a reinforcement of 18,000 men to support him at the most critical moment, which might have turned the fortunes of the whole campaign. General Nugent, on the other hand, might have marched rapidly on the Danube, and, by crossing it, have united his corps to those of Thodorovich and Leiningen, forming thus an army of nearly 30,000 men on the lower part of the Theiss, which would have checked the advance of the Hungarians. The same mistake was committed there, and a simular result was produced, which contributed essentially towards the success of the insurgents, who ably took advantage of the defective plan of the campaign. The establishment of a line of defensive operations behind a river, which describes a long segment of a circle from Tokay to Szegedin, giving to the enemy on the left bank the faculty of moving on a smaller circumference, and of suddenly bringing their forces to bear on any given point of it, was so contrary to the first principles of strategy, that one cannot help wondering at the inefficiency displayed by the Austrian generals; and a cursory glance at a map of Hungary

will suffice to explain the fact of their having committed the most glaring errors, even to those who are altogether uninitiated in that science, although they may not have had the advantage of hearing the subject discussed, as I did, by officers who had borne a part in the war. It is true that the just appreciation of measures is amazingly assisted by the knowledge of their results, and it is easy to detect faults when their disastrous consequences have taken place; but still, in this case the mismanagement of the campaign by the Austrians was too flagrant to escape the criticism even of the least conversant in military matters, or of the most indulgent.

I was so much interested in the discussion on the subject of the Hungarian war, which was afterwards joined in by a very intelligent lawyer of Pesth, an ardent admirer of Kossuth, and by two gentlemen who had been members of the national house of representatives, that I requested the young hussar to assist me in noting down the tenor of what had been said with regard to the causes of its well-known ultimate issue, for it would have been impossible to recollect all the details that I had heard, and I was anxious not to lose any of them. We, therefore, sat for an hour or two in a corner of the cabin, recapitulating the incidents and reflections which had been passed in review, with reference both to the campaign against the Austrians alone, and to that which was fought principally with the Russians, while I committed them to my memorandum book.

The catastrophe, which closed the first period of the war, had completely altered the aspect of affairs. The insurrection had extended to such a degree in Hungary,



that the very existence of the Austrian empire was involved in its suppression; but it had also spread so widely through the other provinces of Austria, that successful opposition to it had become almost impossible, with the unassisted resources of the Imperial government.

The Austrian army, fatigued by a harassing campaign in the depth of winter, and discouraged by repeated discomfiture, was scattered in a broken line of battle, incapable of meeting the enemy in a body; while the Hungarians, full of courage and confidence, occupied a series of strong positions, supported on the western frontier of the country by the important fortress of Comorn, and covered towards the south by that of Peterwardein, both of them serving as pivots for their operations, with the Carpathian chain of mountains forming a strong natural defence of the northern boundaries of Hungary. A force of 190,000 men, with 800 pieces of cannon, well mounted and equipped, was more than Austria was able to compete with alone; especially such men as the Magyars had proved themselves to be, and officered by generals so consummate in valour and skill as Georgey, Dembinski, Bem, Messaros, Perczel, and Guyon.

Kossuth meanwhile had drawn in almost all the money in Hungary, and substituted a circulation of bank notes, which gave him the command of an unlimited sum, backed by twenty millions of florins in specie; and his resources were thus such as to preclude all hope of seeing his government become embarrassed in its financial arrangements; while his personal popularity ensured the continuation of his system, in spite of every attempt to



raise dissension among his followers, and of every intrigue to embroil the members of his administration. Hungary was, therefore, irrecoverably lost to the Emperor as far as any exertions of his own could avail him; for the House of Hapsburgh had been formally declared to have fallen from the throne of that kingdom, which was proclaimed an independent republic, under the presidency of Kossuth; and this was the great error of his career, for democracy is essentially uncongenial to Hungary.

The Slavonian population of Croatia, Selavonia, the Banat, Bohemia, Moravia, Illyria, and Dalmatia, was beginning to waver; the Italian states of the empire were subjugated, it is true, but not pacified; and the German democratical party was rapidly becoming more and more formidable. The possibility of a recommencement of hostilities with the King of Sardinia,—for their accounts were not yet definitely settled, or the necessity of an intervention in the affairs of Rome and Tuscany, where all was not yet quiet, and the continued resistance of Venice, which must be overcome with a strong hand,—were so many storms arising on different points of the southern horizon; while the political situation of Germany was such as to render a call on Austria for military aid far from being improbable on the part of the smaller States. Austria trembled to her very foundations, and any new incident might have caused the whole empire to totter to the ground.

Formerly in critical moments, even when Austria was engaged in war with one of the greatest and most warlike nations of Europe, led against her by the first captain of the age, she had proved her military resources

to be well-nigh inexhaustible; but then the whole empire was united; whereas, on the present occasion, the Emperor could trust to his small hereditary States alone; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the army opposed to the Hungarians could be raised to the number of sixty-two weak battalions, representing scarcely forty thousand combatants.

A friendly hand was extended to save the falling empire. Whether it were with interested views or not, whether the hope of obtaining possession of the port of Cattaro had served as a bait, and whether any secret advantage was stipulated in recompense of assistance, or whether the mere fellow-feeling of all absolute governments prompted the arrangement, the fact of Russia having come forward to draw Austria out of the quagmire into which she was so rapidly sinking, was of itself an event pregnant with great results, and a theme of deep interest for political speculators. When the precedent is once established that disputes between the German princes and their subjects may be settled by the intervention of Russia, it will be an easy step in advance for the latter power to consolidate the monarchical principle in France through the same means, in the person of a Buonaparte or a Bourbon—to the wily autocrat it matters little which. The liberties of the western states of Europe will then be exposed to the attacks of Russian aggression, which were first facilitated in Germany by the dismemberment of Poland, and which will now reach further, through the acceptance of Russian aid by Germany. A new career was opened to the ambition of the Czar, when Europe became convulsed by insurrec-

tionary movements, and he was prepared to enter on it. Towards the west and towards the south the barriers which had previously checked his progress being successively levelled before him; both Germany and Turkey were menaced in their most vulnerable points by the interposition of Russia between Austria and Hungary. The Magyars could not have served their enemies abroad better than by attacking those at home; and the Czar saw in their patriotic war another confirmation of his dream, that St. Petersburg will one day play the part of ancient Rome. He reads the vituperative harangues of demagogues, and the torrents of abuse lavished on him by the very individuals who are playing his cards for him more effectually than any exertions of his own, and who are doing their utmost to insure the game to him by reducing their country to that state which can best favour his designs. In how many states of Europe have deluded mobs been misled by political enthusiasts and votaries of ambition, who succeed in pulling to pieces what they have no power of re-organizing, and who plunge them into ultra-democracy only to see them afterwards brought by a military dictatorship to a less free condition than they had been in under the legitimate rule which they had overthrown! Æsop was right in his fable of King Log and King Stork. History has proved it in Julius Cæsar, in Oliver Cromwell, in Napoleon Buonaparte, in Radetzky, in Filangieri, and in Haynau. If Hungary has not yet arrived at the full realization of that destiny, it is because she is right in one great point,—that of claiming an independent and national administration; though



wrong in having degenerated from the purity of her ancient constitutional principles to the corrupt chimeras of republicanism.

When her fate was still in suspense, and every one was looking anxiously round for the appearance of a combination which would precipitate matters on one side or the other, two proclamations of similar tenor were suddenly published : the first signed by the Emperor Francis Joseph, and the second by the Emperor Nicholas ; they announced the speedy approach of a Russian army. The young Kaiser immediately repaired to his camp ; and the drooping spirits of his soldiers were revived.

The Hungarians should have followed up their success, and pursued the Austrians even to the walls of Vienna. Had they done so, the doom of the Empire would probably then have been sealed for ever ; and the Czar, who was attentively watching their progress, would, in all likelihood, have abandoned a project of immediate opposition to a triumphant cause. It was not the fault of Kossuth, however, that the Austrians were allowed to recover from their late reverses, and to obtain the support of Russia, for he actually issued the order to Georgey to continue the pursuit. The Commander-in-Chief disobeyed it, alleging that it would be time enough to do so, when the capital of Hungary should be purged from the presence of the enemy ; and Kossuth did not think fit to punish his insubordination, as that could only be done by a court-martial, and a consequent sentence of death, which he feared might produce an



effect on Georgey's army, injurious to the cause. Thus commenced the dissensions of the two leaders, political and military.

The Magyars, therefore, laid siege to open the citadel of Pesth, where a small garrison of Austrians had been left. The commandant, General Sleutzi, bombarded the town, in the hope of diverting the attack from the fortress. But it was successfully stormed; Sleutzi was mortally wounded, and Colonel Alnoch, his second in command, after a desperate defence, blew himself up by firing the powder magazine. The carnage then became fearful; but, in fact, it was principally owing to the bombardment of the town, whose peaceful inhabitants had suffered severely, and the Honveds retaliated on the garrison when it was vanquished, with the exception of the Italian regiment of Ceccopieri, which was well treated in consequence of their having shot their colonel when he ordered them to fire on the Hungarians, and of their having then aided the storming party to scale the walls by throwing them ropes fastened to the parapet. Sleutzi was still alive, and he would have been torn to pieces if Georgey himself had not ordered his men to respect, in the fallen general, fidelity to his master and personal gallantry.

It was curious to observe how completely the better judgment of my informants was warped by their enthusiasm in the cause of their country, and by their animosity against the Austrians; the cowardly act of the Italians in killing their colonel, and their treachery in assisting the Magyars to enter a fort which they had engaged to defend, were extolled as chivalrous feats;

while the protection afforded by Georgey to the dying Sleutzi, was adduced by all, but the young hussar, as a proof of his being a traitor in the pay of Austria. He may or may not have been one in his subsequent surrender, but on this occasion his conduct was certainly consistent with the customs of honourable warfare; and whatever might have been the wrongs suffered by the Lombardo-Venetians at the hands of their German sovereign, no dispassionate critic can justify their betraying the trust he had reposed in them at the only hour their disaffection could injure him, when they had made no display of it during the siege.

On the reduction of Ofen, thirty thousand men were free to march against Presburgh. The Austrian army, being then obliged to form line on both banks of the Danube, would inevitably have been destroyed, and Kossuth's plan would thus have proved successful, it it had not been forestalled; but Georgey's disobedience had given time to the auxiliary troops to advance in support of the Austrians; and sixteen battalions of Russians had now arrived by the railway. They were commanded by General Paniutin, and they brought with them forty-eight pieces of artillery. They took up their position at Headish, on the western slope of the Carpathian mountains, close to the frontiers of Hungary. General Haynau had succeeded to Baron Welden in the command of the Austrian army. Field-Marshal Prince Paskiewitsch was appointed to the supreme command of the Russian troops who were descending from Galicia, the Czar himself having come to Dukla on the frontier; and General Lüders was the chief of a division entering

Transylvania from Wallachia, while General Grabbe was directed to move with another corps in the valley of the Waag and on the plateau of Schemnitz for the purpose of uniting the operations of the principal armies. The Ban Jellachich, meanwhile, was re-organizing his forces at Eszeck ; and a combination of attack was thus arranged which would have overthrown a more powerful State than Hungary.

The campaign commenced by an engagement near the camp at Kacs, between the Croatians and the Hungarian corps of Perczel, in which the latter was defeated. Jellachich next stormed the fortified town of Neusatz. The Magyars, however, beat the Austrian corps of General Weyss at Marczalts and Ezged, where that officer was mortally wounded, and several partial actions were fought with varying success, until a general pitched battle took place between Perel and Deaky. The honours of the day belonged to the Russian General Paniutin, but Georgey was enabled to effect his retreat on the left bank of the Waag in good order. In the north of Hungary, Dembinski, who had only twenty thousand men, was obliged to retire without venturing to oppose the advance of the three formidable columns of Russians, each consisting of sixteen battalions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, besides artillery and a strong corps of reserve, under the command of Paskievitsch, accompanied by the son of the Czar, the young Grand Duke Constantine.

At Debrad the insurgents were successfully attacked by General Sass. But the Austrian garrison of Arad was forced to capitulate, and Jellachich was defeated by the



Hungarians in the defile of Hegyes. Klapka was driven out of Raab by the young Emperor of Austria in person, with his Russian patrons, and Georgey was obliged to retire on Waitzen, suffering much from the frequent attacks of the enemy. After a sanguinary skirmish in that town, Georgey continued his retreat pursued by light troops under General Sass, while the main army of the allies was formed in *echelon* on the principal road from Pesth to Miskolcz.

The Russian Commander-in-Chief thus prudently renounced his chance of putting an end to the war by overtaking the Hungarians and forcing them to engage, in favour of the slower but more secure process of obliging them to fly in eccentric lines, which prevented their being able to reunite, and of then crushing them piece-meal with his whole force. This was skilfully devised and ably executed. Georgey was retiring on Tokay, Perczel on Sznolnok, and Dembinski on Szegedin.

The redoubted Hussars were at last beaten in an action with the Russians, under Count Tolstaz, and the Hungarians began to lose their confidence in themselves. The retreat became a flight. The right wing of the combined armies was soon completely disengaged, and his object being thus obtained, the Russian Field-Marshal rapidly shifted his front and took up a central position, which commanded the different Hungarian divisions. He then commenced his attack by sending a strong body to force the passage of the Theiss; a bridge was constructed under a close fire of the insurgents, who, not having been able to stop its progress, tried to burn it; and, in the meantime, the Russians crossed during the night



in boats and on pontoons. In the morning a brisk engagement took place, but the Magyars were outnumbered and borne down.

After this skilful manœuvre, Paskievitsch proceeded to envelope Georgey in his vast masses of soldiers, and the Hungarian could only avert his fate by altering his direction, and moving by forced marches on Debreczin. Tokay was then taken without resistance. Nagy Sandor commanded 18,000 men and forty guns at Debreczin, which the Russian advanced guard reached before the entire of Georgey's army; and the Hungarian General determined to give battle, but the formidable artillery of the enemy drove him off the field, and 6,000 prisoners were taken, besides six guns, and a standard. A *Te Deum Laudamus* for the victories of the Emperor of Austria was sung in the very church, at the door of which, only four months previously, he had been proclaimed for ever fallen from the throne of Hungary.

By the occupation of Debreczin the Russian army, having obtained possession of the strongest line of operations, was in the heart of Hungary, commanding the roads leading to the fortresses of Arad and Grosswardein, holding the key to Transylvania, and master of the Theiss, which supplied the means of making decisive movements. Paskievitsch was not long in turning his position to account. Having learnt that the Austrian army had also crossed the Theiss and had occupied Szegedin, with the intention of marching on Temesvar and Arad, and perceiving that Georgey, after his defeat at Debreczin, was also moving in the direction of Arad, the Russian Commander-in-Chief sent a division to

occupy Grosswardein, seven regiments of cavalry to pursue the principal Hungarian army, and a second advanced guard to open the communications with the Austrians on the road to Arad. These important movements produced decisive results.

Haynau, being aware that the Russians were keeping Georgey and his forty thousand men completely in check, and having his left flank well covered by his allies, resolved on marching southwards, and on raising the blockade of Temeswar. His troops suffered so much on their line of march across the sandy plains under a scorching summer sun, and without good water, that he was obliged to halt them at Felegyhaza, Czegled, and Melykut. Dembinski, who was still retreating towards Szegedin, now felt the necessity of concentrating all the Hungarian troops that could be brought to bear on the passage of the Theiss, and he therefore ordered Guyon, who was operating against Jellachich, to quit his position and repair to Szegedin. Although he had failed in an attempt to force the passage of the Danube at Massorin and Villova, where the Serbian chief, Knitschianin, had successfully opposed him, Guyon might still have harassed the army of the south with great effect, if the movements of Haynau had not required his presence elsewhere; but, however advantageous this might have been, it could not be persisted in. His march on Szegedin opened the communications between Jellachich and Haynau; and the latter having now also his right wing covered, prepared to strike a great blow. He advanced on Szegedin, but the Hungarians did not wait there for him, and he occupied that town, unresisted.

They seemed disposed, however, to dispute the passage of the Theiss, and Haynau determined to force it.

While a furious artillery engagement was going on across the river, two battalions of Austrians succeeded in gaining the left bank at a higher point, and attacked the Hungarian flank, forcing them to make a retrograde movement, which was taken advantage of to establish a bridge. The Austrians passed over and drove their enemies before them, although they fought desperately as they retreated. They rallied at a strong position on the embankments, raised at some distance to prevent the inundations of the river from covering the plain, and there Dembinski, Messaros, Guyon, and Desewfy, made a gallant stand with 30,000 men and 50 guns. Haynau advanced with Panintin and his Russians to attack them; while several brigades of Austrians and Russians charged their front; the artillery had formed in a battery parallel to their entrenchments, opening a tremendous fire, and the cavalry outflanked their left wing. No troops could hold out long against so overwhelming an assault, and the Magyars were obliged to abandon their position, leaving both prisoners and guns behind them.

Thus defeated in front, and perceiving that both their flanks were also threatened by the *echelon* movements of two lateral columns, the Hungarians could do nothing but retreat precipitately on Temeswar; and it was indeed astonishing that they had not already laid down their arms; but they fought to the last. They formed their line of battle under the walls of that town and behind a small stream, with a reinforcement which had been brought to them in the corps of Vetter, and having gained



the assistance of the gallant Bem, who arrived from Transylvania, and proceeded at once to the field of battle, where he took the command. As soon as the allies appeared, a quick and well supported fire was opened on them by the Hungarian artillery; Bem led out his cavalry in person, and manœuvred to outflank the enemy, charging vigorously when he could with advantage: the left wing of the Austrians was thus in considerable danger, until the Austrian artillery came to their support by rapidly deploying and forcing back the Hungarians; a general attack was made before they had recovered from the effects of this first reverse. Prince Leichtenstein was attracted by the firing, and came up with his Austrians on the extreme right of the Magyars, who were thus completely overpowered; and they abandoned their position, leaving Temeswar in the hands of the enemy. Paskievitch then approached with the great Russian army, and General Lüders advanced with his troops from Transylvania, where he had defeated Bem: the allies thus closing on all sides, surrounded the devoted bands of Magyars, who became discouraged by such constant defeats, and marched with hesitation in different directions; Georgey endeavouring to seek shelter under the ramparts of Arad; Bem and Dembinski hurrying towards the Turkish frontier, where they hoped to save the wreck of their army.

While the war seemed to be thus fast drawing to a close, and all hope was almost lost on the part of the Hungarians, a sudden change took place in the aspect of affairs: the fortress of Comorn still resisted, with 30,000 men under the celebrated Klapka, a double



siege from both banks of the Danube. He took an able advantage of the possession of the bridge crossing that river and the Waag, and made a feint against the army on the right bank, and immediately brought his whole force to bear on the left, where he completely defeated his enemy; and then he made a tremendous sally during the night on the right bank, where he also beat the Austrians. He followed up his success, and pursued them with 8,000 men, besides 8 squadrons of cavalry and 24 pieces of artillery, manœuvring so skilfully that he repeatedly assailed their flanks. The Austrians succeeded in gaining a bridge and crossed to the left bank, where the pursuit was continued with equal success. Klapka occupied the town of Raab, took 30 pieces of cannon, and got possession of the dépôts of provision and ammunition.

These brilliant achievements reanimated the courage of the Hungarians for a time; but they were fated to become the victims of treachery at the very time when their falling fortunes seemed likely to be retrieved. The civil government having been obliged to move from Pesth to Szegedin, and thence to Arad, had lost its promptness of information and vigour of action; the want of time to establish the presses for the printing of bank-notes crippled their pecuniary resources; the jealousy which Georgey felt for Kossuth, prompted him to take advantage of the weakness of the latter, in order to emancipate himself from the influence and ascendancy which he had exercised in the country, and the orders of the government were no longer obeyed by the army.

Kossuth wished to make the strong fortress of Arad

the pivot of future military operations, and the centre of action for the government. Had he been listened to, he would certainly have protracted the struggle, to which the successes of Klapka had given a favourable turn, and if he could not hope ultimately to defeat the overwhelming force opposed to him, it is probable that the sufferings and heroism of the Hungarians would have at last obtained for them the active sympathy of other nations ; but it was otherwise ordained, and his plans were rejected. Seeing that his power was gone, and that he could no longer efficiently serve his country, he suppressed all personal feeling, and deeming it to be his duty to concentrate the authority in the only individual who could now wield it with effect, he had Georgey appointed Dictator ; for, whatever reason he might have had for distrusting him, he attributed the conduct of that officer, whom he had himself raised from obscurity, to an impatience of control, and he never for a moment suspected him of being capable of treachery.

Georgey accepted the Dictatorship, and surrendered to the Russians unconditionally ; at least without making any ostensible conditions. Thirty thousand men laid down their arms, with 144 pieces of cannon and 8,000 horses. Georgey summoned the other Hungarian chiefs to surrender at discretion. They all did so, excepting Bem, Guyon, and Klapka. The two former attempted still to resist ; but, on the approach of the Russian army of General Lüders, their soldiers refused to fight, and they were obliged to take to flight, by crossing the Turkish frontier with Kossuth. Terms were then offered to Klapka, who held Comorn, and he made an advantageous

capitulation. Such was the end of the war, but not of the tragedy; Haynau soon appeared in another light;—executions, and the most unheard-of cruelties commenced; and of the Magyar chiefs who had not become voluntary exiles, only one man remained unscathed;—that man was Arthur Georgey, who is now living in a town in Austria, on a pension from the Emperor!

A campaign of only six weeks had thus sufficed to undo the work of two years: it was conducted by two chiefs independent of each other, and acting on totally different principles. The Russian General endeavoured to crush his enemy without much bloodshed, by the great masses which he moved in such overwhelming numbers that the Hungarians could not risk a battle; and the Austrian Commander, keen to wash out the stains on the tarnished fame of his army, sought every means of inducing the insurgents to meet him on the field. The success of this double system of strategy was finally insured by the skilful concentration of his forces on one point at a decisive moment by Prince Paskievitch, while Baron Haynau then for the first time also joined him; 150,000 Russians and 50,000 Austrians thus faced the detached bodies of 20,000 and upwards, which the Hungarians could never unite, partly from false manœuvres, but principally on account of the misunderstandings which had arisen among their leaders, preventing their whole force of about 100,000 fighting men from making together a last stand for their country.

## CHAPTER VIII.

RIVER-BOATS—GROTZKA—SEMENDRA—CASTLE OF COLUMBATZ—THE KAZAN  
—CAVERN OF THE GNATS—ROMAN ROAD—LATIN INSCRIPTION—ORSOVA—  
DANUBE STEAM COMPANY—AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES—MEHADIA—MINERAL  
WATERS—ANNOYANCES IN AUSTRIA.

A NUMBER of large vessels were floating down the Danube when I returned to the deck of the steamer after filling my note-book with the particulars of the late Hungarian war. These great river-boats had an enormous oar at either end, which acted as a rudder, according as the stem or the stern happened to be in front, each of them being worked by four men; and we could not help remarking how simple it would be to have steam tugs to drag a long line of these barges down, and especially up the stream, whose banks do not admit of towing by horses, and their return is therefore dependent on a fair wind.

We passed the marshy shores of Paucsova in the Banat, and the lovely Serbian village of Grozka, near which the Austrian army of Wallis was defeated by the Turks in the year 1739: it is perched on the green hills which rise abruptly from the right bank of the river, and a forest of crosses appeared in its picturesque cemetery, which crowns the summit of a conical height behind it, and gives the lie to the idle tale of religious



intolerance in the Ottoman Empire; for the privileges conferred on the Serbian province, as well as on every other, expressly secured to the Sultan's Christian subjects there, the free observance of all the sacred rites of their persuasion. A great extent of vineyards, mingled with fruit-trees, covered those hills, offering a contrast which is but little advantageous to the low and bare country on the Hungarian side; and houses nestling in the ravines, show that the population is more agricultural than in the Banat, where the inhabitants seem to live only in towns and villages. A small mosque forms a pretty object among the trees, and as it might be called a ruin, it is evident that the Turks are prudently leaving the Serbs to their own devices, after having granted them the boon of self-administration.

We soon reached the town and fortress of Semendra, built in 1433 by the Serbian Prince, George Brancovitz, with its tall square towers along the straight castellated walls, and the few small old houses of its inmates crouching under it, as if afraid to leave its protecting vicinity. But all this was a remnant of other centuries, and the more recent constructions were scattered over the neighbouring country, which seemed to enjoy peace and security under the present policy of Turkey.

The steamer stopped for a few minutes opposite the inland town of Kubin in Hungary, and as some of the passengers landed there, we were much amused to see their luggage disembarked by sailors in hussar jackets and Hessian boots.

We continued steaming down the river during a long summer day, and although the shores of the Danube

between Semlin and Orsova are reputed to be more picturesque than at any other part of its course, we saw nothing as yet which could be compared to the banks of the Save, for richness and variety of scenery. The great breadth of the Danube also contributed to deprive it of its claims to beauty, as we were generally too distant from the shores to see them to advantage. We passed Uj Palanka with its fortified island, connected by a long bridge, and the opposite Serbian Castle of Rama, near the ruins of a Roman fort; and we entered the narrow passage of the river between the steep and lofty mountains below Dreucova, with a strong breeze against us, and waves astonishingly high: the spray broke frequently over the bows of the steamer, and the deportment of several passengers became symptomatic of river sickness: the ships, however, which were going in the opposite direction, seemed to turn the wind to the best account, with their large lateen sails propelling them against the stream, and rolling from side to side with the swell.

Next came Moldawa, then the Serbian castle Columbatz, built by the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa, its grey towers rising from a rock washed by the river, and standing out from the green wooded mountains close behind it.

We saw all the wonders of the Kazan, or cauldron, in Turkish, so often painted in glowing colours by adventurous and admiring travellers. The boiling and bubbling of the river, and the toiling and troubling of the steamer; the precipices on either side, seven hundred feet in height; and the *Mückenhöhle*, or Cavern of the Gnats, about which so many marvels are related. We

listened with fitting awe to the tale of the dragon's carcase having been left there by George, the patrician of ancient Rome, who became, by some inexplicable process, the patron Saint of England;—how the gnats proceed from the remains of the defunct monster, and annually rush from the grotto to devour man and beast; and how the entrance to the cave was once built up to imprison them within it, and neither brick nor mortar could withstand the fury of their assault, but were soon reduced to powder by the storming party of the gnats.\* We gazed with respect at the celebrated General Veterani's cavern, where he withstood a siege of three months with 700 men, in the year 1692. We counted the chiselled resting points for the beams that supported the Roman road along the perpendicular flanks of the gigantic cliff, in which it was scooped out; and we looked through our telescope at the Latin inscription, commemorating the Emperor Trajan's first campaign in Dacia, in the year of our Lord 103; and, although we distinguished nothing but two dolphins with their tails festooned in a love-knot, round the Roman eagle, we firmly believed that it ran thus, as we were assured:—

“IMP . CÆS . D . NERVÆ . FILIUS . NERVA . TRAJANUS .  
GERM . PONT . MAX.”

At length we had passed that immense range of hills which commences in Poland under the name of Carpathians, and which ends in Turkey at the Balkans, after describing the figure of an immense S, here broken

\* All this being so undeniably true, that a volume was published on the subject at Vienna in 1795, by one Schönboner.



through by the Danube; and we arrived at the small town of Orsova, the last of the Austrian stations on the river.

We were required to give up our passports on stepping from the steamer on board a wooden gangway uniting it with the shore; but at the other end a soldier barred our further progress, uttering the words, "*Stassoti!*" We obeyed his peremptory gesticulations rather than his verbal order, which we did not understand any more than he did our request for an explanation of this energetic proceeding, in all the foreign languages, living and dead, of which we could muster a few words. An Italian followed us, and was summarily stopped by the same "*Stassoti,*" and bayonet, which had obstructed our passage: a German came next, and then a Polish Jew; but none of them could make any more of either impediment than we had done. At last, the ninety passengers were collected under a burning sun on the gangway, at the imminent risk of its giving way and precipitating us all into the river, or of each receiving a *coup de soleil*. Some of them, however, understood the dialect spoken by the soldier, which was Rouman, or Wallachian, as he belonged to the 1st Austrian, Wallachian, Illyrian, Frontier regiment, and they explained to us that a standing order prohibited the landing of passengers, one by one, but did not prevent their disembarking in a body. The "open sesame" was then pronounced, and we all got safely on shore, after having been submitted to the process of bleaching, which produced an effect on our faces diametrically contrary to that which is undergone by linen



under it, while our sentiments with regard to the Imperial and royal authorities, as they call themselves, were equally opposed to those feelings of admiration and respect, which they evidently believed they were inspiring. Those majestic titles are invariably prefixed to every thing that can claim an official character; even the Danube Steam Navigation Company have two little K's on their flags, which are thus *Kaiserlich* and *Kaeniglich*, as much as the Austrian Guards. I recollect a bold parody of this species of grandiloquence that took place in a coffee-house, over the door of which the owner had inscribed, among other qualities, that of being confectioner to his Imperial, Royal, and Arch-Ducal Highness, etc. etc. A Greek gentleman of unmistakeably liberal opinions, walked into the coffee-house, after having stood for some time studying these honours, and when a waiter asked him what he might bring him, he replied, in a loud voice:—

“Bring me an Imperial, Royal, and Arch-Ducal glass of water.”

The Coffee-house was full of loyal subjects of the Emperor, but it was soon empty, for no one wished to be present at the arrival of the Police, which could not fail to make its appearance, and which would have arrested them even for having heard the rash jest.

Let no one trust to the information given at the offices of the Danube steamers. At Semlin, the clerk, who gave me our tickets, told me most distinctly that the boat would only stop an hour at Orsova on its way down the river; before reaching that place, the *Conducteur*, an officer especially charged to give information and assist-

ance to the passengers, said to me that they would stay a day there, and, on my asking him why, he answered that a little repose was necessary to the crew of the vessel, otherwise they could never support the fatigue of so long a voyage. What would be thought of this in England; where the fires of some passage-boats are hardly ever extinguished? But this was not all: after landing at Orsova, it was announced to us that we could not proceed until the fourth day, and no explanation was vouchsafed or reply made to our repeated inquiries on the subject.

The Danube steamers are a disgrace to Austria. Nothing could be worse than the manner in which they are conducted. The want of civility towards strangers is most offensive, the imposition of the stewards in their charges for food is quite shameful, the irregularity and disorder in the arrangements on board are exceedingly annoying, and the total contempt of cleanliness everywhere visible is altogether disgusting. This must be a subject of wonder to any one who has sailed in the steamers of another Austrian Company, that of the Lloyds' at Trieste, which reflects as much credit on the country by its admirable administration, as the Danube Company does the contrary. What the latter wants is a formidable competition, which would soon oblige them to improve their measures, their manners, and their habits, or else drive them out of the field. There is some talk of the two companies being united; it is to be hoped that the Trieste *employés* will in that case introduce their system among their future colleagues, in return for the pecuniary advantages which would accrue to their branch;

as, strange to say, the Steam Navigation company of the Austrian Lloyds' suffers an annual deficit, while the Danube shares produce a dividend of fourteen or fifteen per cent.

As I was writing the preceding remarks in my notebook, on the deck of the steamer, I saw the Captain looking at me, but I continued my occupation. I then heard him call the conducteur, and give him certain instructions, after which the latter came behind me, and in the most impertinent manner put his hand on my shoulder and thrust his head before mine, to look at what I was writing.

"I hope you can read English," I said.

"Ya."

"Read then."

He read my impressions on the subject of the Danube steamers, which he perfectly understood with the aid of a little interpretation on my part: he made a strange grimace, and, turning on his heel, walked away to his Captain.

We were quite glad to leave that villanous steamer, and we felt disposed to encounter all the delays, fatigues, and inconveniences of a land journey, rather than continue on board it until we should reach the Danubian port of Giurgevo, which is much nearer the chief town of Wallachia, whither we were bound, than Orsova is.

I went to the Police Office to get my passport, and I had to undergo the customary interrogations with regard to my social position in life, and the object of my journey; but at length, all difficulties were obviated by the Captain of the Company in garrison there, who was the



administrator of the place. The absurd rigour of the Austrian authorities towards strangers, appears to be occasionally eluded, however, by the better sense of their own subalterns. An instance of this occurred to myself on my way through the Austrian Empire ; but I shall abstain from mentioning the p'ace where it happened, because it is not impossible that these pages may meet the eyes of those who might investigate the pious fraud, and visit it heavily on its friendly author.

I wished on that occasion to deviate slightly from my route, and applied at the regular office for the requisite permission : it was refused, on the plea that my passport was not countersigned for the town whither I desired to go. I went to the orderly room of the military commandant, and, before asking to see him, I stated my case to his second in command. That officer told me that it was quite impossible that his superior could accede to my wish ; and I represented to him in the strongest terms, how unreasonable it was to expect that, in preparing a passport for a long journey, one should foresee exactly how it could be effected, and that, by raising such unjustifiable obstacles in the way of foreigners passing through the country, they would only make their government unpopular abroad, without attaining any possible object to their own advantage. He appeared to feel the force of my argument, and, after a little reflection, he said that he would give me a chance. He drew out a special permission to travel to the place alluded to, and, putting it amongst a number of other papers, he went into the next room. He soon returned and gave me the document duly signed by the



Commandant, saying with a smile that his chief had not either looked at it, or asked what it was.

When I was getting my passport signed at Orsova, the young Hungarian, who had lost his leg, entered the office on the same errand. He was received with a frown, as his story was too plainly told by his braided jacket and his single Hessian boot. Although under the safeguard of a political amnesty, he was treated by the Austrian officers with the most insulting contempt; but he bore it in proud silence, until something was said to him in Hungarian, which I did not understand, when his indignation burst forth in a torrent of recrimination, intelligible to me only by the violence of his manner, and by his menacing attitude and gesticulations. Throwing his whole weight on his crutch and his stick, he stamped his surviving foot on the ground. A heathen deity once made a horse all ready saddled and bridled spring from the earth by doing so; an old Roman hoped thus to make an army rise up before him; but my choleric friend only raised a good deal of dust, and made his widowed spur ring again. He appealed to me, as he soon recognised me, but, excepting the words, "*Herr Engländer*," I could comprehend nothing either of his reproaches, or of his appeal, for that was all that he said in German. I was much astonished to perceive that not a single word was addressed to him in reply. The Austrians literally cowered beneath the irresistible ascendancy of his resentment, his passport was immediately signed, and he strode with it out of the room, limping past the officials with an air of lofty superiority.

There was little to interest us at Orsova, which is a very small place of only a thousand inhabitants, but it is prettily situated on the Danube. The streets are regular and cleanly, and there are some handsome houses belonging to merchants, principally Greeks. The great numbers of flower-pots on the window-sills, even of the poorest cottagers, were a good sign of the inhabitants, and I remarked another symptom which I always consider favourable among the lower orders; it was a most decided taste for birds in cages, so many of them were hanging outside their doors and windows. There was a pretty walk to a height behind the town, from which I took a sketch, and we spent another agreeable afternoon in strolling over a meadow bounded by the Danube to the north-west of the town. In returning from our walk, we were overtaken by a heavy shower of rain. We took shelter in the door-way of a large house; a lady soon appeared, and politely invited us to join a party of gentlemen and ladies who were sitting in her drawing-room; we did so, and remained for half-an-hour listening to the details of an insurrection, which was said to have broken out a few days previously in Bulgaria, and which formed the sole topic of conversation. Five-and-twenty thousand Bulgarians were said to have blockaded the town of Widin, and several engagements had taken place, in which 1,000 Christians and 15 Turks had been killed. One lady assured us that from her garden, a little way down the Danube, she had distinctly heard the firing from the batteries of Widin.

Before commencing our journey from Orsova to Bucharest by land, we determined to visit the baths of

Mehadia, which are only twelve miles distant ; and we hired a vehicle, such as should convey us through Wallachia, that is, a four-wheeled wicker waggon, without springs, for no other could be procured. We had not gone far, however, before the conviction was forced upon us by hard rattling and jolting, that, bad as the steamer was, still it was an easier and more comfortable medium of locomotion than a cart. After galloping over the stones for about a mile, our carter pulled up, and producing a most primitive-looking scythe, he petitioned for our permission to mow his horse's dinner on the roadside. We made no objection, as this operation obtained for us a brief respite to the anvil-like sufferings from the constant hammerings which we received on all sides, for the covering, as well as the body of the waggon, knocked us about with interminable concussions, horizontal and perpendicular, diagonal and rotatory. A heap of moist long grass having been duly piled beside the cart, we were requested to alight ; we did so, and waited to see the result. The grass was soon transferred to the cart, and we were told to lie down upon it. We submitted to all the conditions of our existence for the time being, and continued our wild career, with somewhat fewer contusions, but with the additional dangers attendant on the marshy nature of our bed. As we thus proceeded, we detected each other, more than once, sighing for the object of our recent aversion, and most heartily wishing ourselves on board the Danube steamer again ; so true it is that few things in this world are so very bad that one does not soon find a worse.

Our road followed the course of the small river



Czerna, through a narrow valley between two thickly wooded hills: it was a very pretty country; but our appetite for the picturesque had been so glutted of late, that mere scenery had become a drug in the market, and we would not have it at any price, especially when we were in a cart rolling rapidly along a stony road. We, therefore, looked with sulky indifference at the rocks overhung with wild-vines, and crowned with shady groves, and at the sequestered hamlets nestling in the dell. Three arches of a Roman bridge, and a portion of the ancient road, built along a perpendicular rock, attracted our attention, and obtained a favourable remark or two; but, on the whole, we could not get up the steam for enthusiasm.

When we reached Mehadia, we acknowledged the depressing influence of the melancholy scene, unfolded before us in the principal and only street of that remote little watering-place—ladies walking about in rich and fashionable attire—officers in uniform—shops full of trinkets and gewgaws—temporary stalls—carriages driving about—itinerant musicians—hotels, coffee houses, billiard rooms, and circulating libraries, crowded with idlers; nothing could be more dismal than all this. We had expected fine remains of the ancient Roman Baths of Hercules, and we found a sort of miniature Carlsbad, with a fat unwholesome statue of the demi-god in the centre, standing up to his coarse knees in a cistern of dirty water. This clumsy, clownish work of art bears date 1836. The only sensible feature we saw about the place, was the motly assembly of halt, maimed, and cripple, infirm and blind, of various nations, conditions, and ages, and of both sexes, promiscuously mingling with the votaries of



pleasure and indolence; some dragging their languid limbs along the winding paths cut in the woods; others resting their feeble persons on the benches or in the summer-houses; whilst innumerable covered waggons crowded the public square, serving as sleeping places for the poorer bathers, who were lying about under the trees, rolled in thick rugs after their bath.

We remarked a large military hospital, and an asylum for the indigent invalids who come to try the effect of the waters. We also noticed that there were poor-boxes publicly exposed in many parts of the town, to invite the rich sojourners at Mehadia to provide for the necessity of their less favoured fellow-sufferers.

We went to a church, in which divine service was being performed, in consequence of its being a holiday. The liturgy of the Eastern Christian Communion was read, partly in Greek and partly in Sclavonian, the remainder being in the Wallachian dialect.

After that, I sought for a good view of the romantic valley in which the baths are situated; and I found that the best spot to take a sketch from was immediately above the waggon-town, formed by these descendants of the ancient ἀμαξόβιοι, or dwellers in carts. It is certainly a very pretty place, Mehadia; and the waters having been proved most efficacious in some disorders, it might be visited with satisfaction and advantage by invalids, even from England, now that three days by rail to Vienna, and four more by steam to Orsova, suffice to complete the journey. As these waters are but little known, I shall translate the table containing their chemical properties, for the purpose of supplying infor-

mation to those who might try to recover their health there, after having failed elsewhere.

In 100 cubic inches of water are found—

Sulphuretted Hydrogen Gas.	Nitrogen Gas.	Carbonic Acid Gas.	Muriate of Natron.	Muriate of Lime.	Sulphate of Lime, with traces of Silicious Earth.	
0.00	1.10	3.68	39.48	17.10	2.15	In the Herculesbad.
2.52	1.06	1.14	33.31	14.56	2.06	In the Carlsbad.
5.15	1.10	1.24	54.57	22.75	3.04	In the Ludwigsbad.
7.48	1.12	1.46	91.43	44.15	4.57	In the Carolinenbad.
10.10	1.15	2.10	96.36	50.23	5.05	In the Kaiserbad.
5.16	1.08	1.56	97.21	51.46	5.08	In the Ferdinandbad.
8.62	1.12	1.87	103.10	57.37	5.02	In the Augenbad.
5.10	1.12	1.33	78.18	36.09	4.05	In the Frangischebad.
7.08	1.12	1.33	93.14	48.11	5.00	In the Josephsbad.

The season for taking the baths is from the middle of June to September, and during it the weather is not at all variable, and the temperature is exceedingly mild. There are few of the drawbacks incidental to hot climates, as the air is not too dry, and the rapid stream rushing through the narrow valley produces a constant current.

The Herculesbad, which is the most important of the springs, produces 5,045 cubic feet of water per hour, and it rushes from the rock as thick as a man's body, being the largest mineral spring known, with the exception of that of Reikova, in Iceland—if its volume be not exaggerated by Sir George M'Kenzie. It was discovered by the Romans after the conquest of Dacia by Trajan, when the fifth, or Macedonian Legion, was stationed in the neighbourhood, and it soon became celebrated for its healing properties; but it was forgotten in the vicissi-

tudes and invasions of different nations during the middle ages, and was brought into notice again only in the year 1500, under Charles VI., by Field-Marshal Count Hamilton, a Scotchman in the Austrian service, who raised several houses there from the remains of the Roman buildings. In the Turkish wars they were destroyed, and the baths fell into neglect, and were lost sight of until 1801, when the Frontier Regiment of the Banat, to which they belonged, commenced turning them to account as a profitable watering-place. Roman coins and pieces of sculpture are frequently dug up, and a small statue of Hercules was discovered behind the spring, which bears his name.

We dined at a restaurant, in a shady garden, with a pretty *jet d'eau* in front of the table, and, after paying an astonishingly moderate charge, we were informed that our cart stopped the way, and we sighed as we thought of the trying ordeal that awaited us, and the painful process to which our persons had already been subjected on that instrument of torture. But there was nothing for it, and, with the resignation of so many martyrs, we consigned ourselves to the tender mercies of our ignoble waggon, which was to convey us, first to the remains of the ancient bath, at some distance from the modern watering-place, and thence to Orsova. Our executioner rattled us, full gallop, over the stones, and we soon left the houses, hotels, and shops behind us. The road became narrow as the valley closed, leaving scarcely room enough for the river Czerna and ourselves to pass out of it abreast, the trees being jostled up on the steep banks on either side of the ravine, where they seemed to

elbow each other as they thickened into a leafy mob. We emerged upon an open sort of lawn, and our pitiless waggoner flogged his horses to the tip-top of their speed, throwing us all of a heap in the cart ; and in this plight we made our triumphal appearance in the *beau monde* of Mehadia ; for, to our horror, we discovered that a crowd of fashionably dressed ladies and gentlemen were here enjoying their afternoon promenade on foot, on horseback, and in handsome carriages. All eyes were riveted on us, and, as we could no longer drive so fast, the savage pulled in his horses, as if to show us to the wondering multitude, in the plight of poultry on their way to market. This was not all ; for at last he stopped altogether in the middle of the lawn, and proceeded to unyoke them for the purpose of watering them at a spring among the trees, before commencing their work, according to eastern custom. We would not sit there to be gazed at, and we made a most undignified descent from our throne of hay, which had replaced the wet grass, and told the coachman to follow us when he should be ready, as we would walk to the ancient baths. The little boys skipped about like birds escaped from their cages ; their Glengarry caps, long curling hair, and fair complexions of the north, allied to the regular features of the south, attracted general attention ; and they soon found themselves in the centre of an admiring circle, and accosted in half-a-dozen different languages, German, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Wallachian, and Serbian, all equally unintelligible to them. But many of their admirers were of their own age, and children easily make themselves understood, while their hoops,



and battledoors and shuttlecocks, formed topics for a pantomimic intercourse, which soon developed itself, and became a general game of romps, as if the polyglot little party had been formed of cousins-german. We called them to follow us, which they did, but not alone; for each of them came exultingly with a captive young Magyar Countess or Austrian *gnädigesfräulein*. We made no objections to this satisfactory little arrangement, and proceeded to the ancient baths, where there was as affectionate a leave-taking after a half hour's walk together as if the four children had known each other all their little lives, and the two merry-faced and bright-eyed girls, neither of whom was more than eight or nine years old, ran back to the lawn. Who knows what tricks their young imaginations may play them, and how long the soft wax of their memories may bear the impression produced by the stranger boys? They may meet again—who can say where, and when, and how?

The ancient baths seem to have been very small, if one may judge by their remains, which consist in large blocks of stone, indicating in some places, only how confined the circuit of the building must have been. We entered the modern bath-house, close beside it. If it was in such a puddle that the demi-god acquired his strength, I would rather continue to be a weak mortal than face again that nauseous, fetid, chalybeate and sulphuric odour, even were my future labours to be twice as great as those of Hercules.

We came out of the baths, and stood for some time at the door waiting for our waggon. It did not appear: the horses must have been most uncommonly thirsty;

still we waited—another quarter of an hour passed, and no waggon was forthcoming. As it must pass by this road, however, we walked on, that it might overtake us. There were benches at regular distances among the trees, and we occasionally sat down to while away the time, and then walked on again. It was a fine afternoon, and a beautiful country, but we should have enjoyed it the more if we had known where our waggon was. As we approached one of the seats, we perceived that it was occupied by a charming group, worthy of a painter's study: they were two ladies, one very young, the other between two ages, as a Frenchman would say, and both as beautiful as their respective years would admit of. The younger, who was perfectly lovely, was pouring a tale evidently of deep interest into the attentive ear of the elder, who listened to it with an expression of mingled tenderness and anxiety. They could only be a mother and daughter; and the poetical admirer of nature in any form, who was with me, insisted that the latter was confessing her innocent preference for a kindred spirit, in every way worthy of her affections, while the former was invoking a blessing from above on her fair young head. Or rather, I replied, the girl is telling her mamma how she had refused to dance on the previous evening with her betrothed lover, the poor young officer of hussars, because the rich old banker with the liver complaint had proposed to marry her, and the old lady is commending her for doing honour to the careful education she had given her. However this might have been, we could not find our waggon, and that was a paramount consideration under existing circumstances. We walked on, and still

on we walked, mile after mile, until we began to get rather tired and very much alarmed, for we had left Mehadia a long way behind us; the little boys could not walk back, and we could not carry them. My nervous friend proposed to ascend a wooded height on our left, whence an extensive view might be obtained of the road by which we had come, in order to see if the cart were near, while I should remain on the road to prevent its passing us. The plan was approved, and the younger boy accompanied the expedition, which he led in skirmishing order, while the main body followed him in close column, along the tortuous course of a capricious path, which wound among the trees to the summit of the position. My repeated shouts from below remained unanswered after I had lost sight of them, and Ann, Sister Ann, was deaf to all my questions, if she saw any one coming; at last I heard a shot, and then the detachment became visible, retreating in the utmost disorder down the hill. I ran forward to support it, and cover a rally, if it could be brought to form again.

“A wolf!” exclaimed the light infantry.

“A brigand!” screamed the main body.

A wolf and a brigand! One such enemy would certainly be more than a match for us; what can we do against both at once? But let us hear the exact result of the reconnaissance which had been effected. The brigand had been seen levelling a horrid gun, with a slouched hat on his head;—he had fired, and then the wolf had sprung through the brushwood, showing his ravenous teeth as he bounded along. We were considering what was best to be done, when a gentlemanly



looking sportsman came out of the wood, took off the very slouched hat, and said he hoped that we had not been alarmed when he had shot the woodcock which he held in his other hand. The wolf was quietly walking behind him, and came forward wagging his tail for a piece of biscuit, which the elder of the little boys gave him. We told our new acquaintance, who was a German, residing at Mehadia, in what an awkward predicament we were placed with regard to our waggon, and we were all standing in the middle of the road straining our eyes in the direction of the watering-place to see if it were coming, when we were nearly driven over by a cart advancing rapidly from Orsova. It was pulled up, and we recognised our coachman, who reproached us bitterly for having made him go half-way home in search of us. The fact was that he had passed while we were in the baths, and had gone on until he had become convinced of the impossibility of our having walked so far, when he had turned back to look for us. We bowed to the brigand, the children patted the wolf on the head, and we took our seats at last in the waggon.

As we drove along we were amused by the equestrian skill of a Hungarian Amazon, who was seated on a small and fiery horse, which she guided by a rope round its neck and a small branch which she had broken off a tree; she galloped furiously in front of our cart, and no dragoon could have sat better; she seemed determined that we should not pass her, while our carter, equally emulous, flogged his horses, as if intent on grinding our bones to powder. At last we won the race, and as we



rushed past, she turned round laughing, and displayed the wizened features of an old woman of sixty-five at least. We passed the Lazaretto, quite untenanted, as there is no quarantine between Turkey and Austria, excepting when the plague is actually raging, for the old prejudices on this subject are fast disappearing everywhere, and travellers are not subjected, as they once were, to an imprisonment more irksome than the contagion itself, merely because fear is often the offspring of ignorance.

When we reached Orsova, we met an old acquaintance, who told us that he had made the journey from Bucharest by land, and he strongly recommended us to give up the idea altogether, as the country was uninteresting, and the fatigue of travelling several days in a cart without springs at the furious rate at which the Wallachian postilions drive their team of six or eight horses, would not be repaid by anything we could see by the way. I had always intended to make a tour in the interior of Wallachia from Bucharest, and we therefore made up our minds to proceed by the steamer down the Danube. The delay at Orsova was now explained by the arrival of another steamer from Vienna, the passengers of both being thus enabled to embark in one of the large boats that ply only once a-week on the lower part of the river, and the trick played off upon us being necessary to induce travellers to take the first small boat, which would otherwise be empty, while the second would be unable to accommodate all the applicants for passages. I went to take our places, and had another little instance of the respectability of the management

of the Danube steamers, in an unworthy attempt to obtain gold from me in payment at twenty-five per cent. below its value: I changed it without difficulty in town, and paid the office in paper. We had another custom-house search of our baggage on embarking; and for what possible purpose travellers leaving the country are subjected to this troublesome ordeal is more than I can understand or explain. When my few rough drawings were discovered, a great outcry was raised; I must be a military spy, it was evident, because the subjects were all castles and fortresses. I told them that they were very much mistaken if they thought that any fortifications I had seen in Austria would require a deep study of their plan and defences before attacking them; but that they might set their minds quite at rest on that score, as I could take upon myself to assure them that there was no intention to invade Austria on the part of Great Britain. The only result was a great deal of nonsense said on both sides, and my trunks were embarked without further demurring of the obnoxious officials.

I had travelled about a good deal in different countries of Europe, but I had never yet met with so systematic and consistent a series of petty annoyances and suspicions, as on this occasion. I therefore flattered myself that it could not arise from any personal peculiarities tending to excite alarm with regard to my object in travelling, and I consequently concluded that it originated either from the precarious position of the German government in the Slavonic provinces of Austria, or from a dislike to the English in general. But, as I had not heard or read of any other Englishman

having been subjected to such persecution, I could only attribute it to the internal circumstances of the country, while if the slightest grounds really existed for the supposition that a citizen of free England was not a welcome guest, I can only say frankly that the antipathy was mutual in my case; and it was with feelings of undisguised satisfaction that I quitted the dominions of Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary.

## CHAPTER IX.

RUSSIAN COUNTESS—FORTRESS OF NEW ORSOVA—IRON GATE—TRAJAN'S  
BRIDGE—SKELIA CLADOVA—PRINCE STURDZA—WIDIN—RUSSIAN EMIS-  
SARY—NICOPOLI—SISTOV—RUSTSHUK AND GIURGEVO—BUCHAREST—  
PRINCE STIRBEG.

OUR party on board the steamer consisted chiefly of a Russian countess with her suite. There were two ladies of honour, one Russian and the other French, who could not well be mere ladies' maids, as they dined at table with their mistress, and sat conversing with her on deck; but, as she had no other female attendants, I presume that they performed the office of menials, while they enjoyed the privilege of familiarity by right of some peculiar feature in the domestic manners and customs of Russia. There was an English governess, a French Doctor, a Russian gentleman of business, another French gentleman, whose functions I could not define, two little monkeys no bigger than rats, and four insulting parrots in cages, one paralytic pug in a basket, and one very unhappy-looking child, who shared with the rival pets the almonds, biscuits, and lumps of sugar, of which a huge bag was always kept full for their common use. There was also a gentleman from Vienna, who was conspicuous only through his loud and repeated complaints



against the agents of the Danube steamers, who had lost his passport for him at Orsova, and as he was going to Russia, he had no chance of being able to reach his destination without it.

In about a quarter of an hour, we passed the island on which the Turkish fortress of New Orsova stands, and which we had seen from the height behind the Austrian town of Alt Orsova. The ramparts seemed to be in a very imperfect state, but they were undergoing repairs, and several new buildings, among others a large mosque, were in the course of construction. The position is advantageous, lying at the point of contact of the provinces of Wallachia, and Serbia, with Austria, and not far from the Bulgarian territory, which is still entirely Turkish, and has none of the forms of self-administration granted to the two other provinces alluded to. The island, being backed by an unprivileged portion of the Ottoman Empire, will therefore serve as an outpost of some value in the event of further attempts to consummate the dismemberment of the northern possessions of Turkey. It is commanded, however, by the small fort of Shistab, on the right bank of the river, which is called Fort Elizabeth by the Austrians, and both shot and shell could be effectually thrown into New Orsova from thence, if it fall into the hands of an enemy: like all the Serbian forts it is garrisoned by Turks.

We passed the celebrated cataracts of the Danube, called the Iron Gate, which were in my opinion infinitely less striking than the Kazan; after that we saw the Turkish fort of Cladova, where the remains of Roman fortifications are still visible; and then we came to the

ruins of Trajan's Bridge, which have been so often described, and expatiated on as having been raised after the victories over the Dacian king Decebalus, and as having been destroyed by Hadrian in the hope of preventing the invasion of the Goths. A single crumbling pier stands on the bank of the river, left there, as a clever French lady, whom I afterwards met, said of it, like the visiting card of the Roman Emperor. Near it is the ruined tower of Severinus, which has given the name of Turnu Severinu to a neighbouring small town on the Wallachian side. A few hundred yards from it lies the steamboat station of Skella Cladova, where we stopped to change steamers: it was the first place in Wallachia which we visited, and of a truth it was hardly calculated to give a favourable impression; yet there was much that was characteristic about it. A few miserable huts surrounded one good house; a number of rude waggons crowded around a travelling chariot of Vienna manufacture; Boyards and boors, princes and peasants, with no intervening link between the highest and the lowest grades of society. In the chariot sat Prince Michael Sturdza, formerly Hospodar of Moldavia, now on his way to the watering places of Germany; twelve small and lean post-horses were preparing to drag him to Orsova by land, as he had disembarked here on account of his apprehensions of the danger of steaming through the Iron Gate; and several strange looking guards on horseback accompanied him, dressed in the ordinary countryman's costume, and armed to the teeth. This was a Boyard, who had risen to the highest rank in his province, which he held for many years.

We were transferred with our Countess,—whose name I never could make anything of, as I perceived when she afterwards offered us her card as a souvenir of our short acquaintanceship, that it was composed of no less than fourteen consonants, to three vowels—thus, Tsch-l-schtsch-ff; and with the men, women, monkeys, and parrots, of her household,—to the large steamer which plies on the Lower Danube. It was a fine boat of London construction, said to steam eleven knots an hour, and we cherished the idea that we had done well in preferring the navigation of the river to land travelling, as we would at least enjoy a comfortable night's rest. On reaching the quarter-deck, we found a snug little party of sixteen carriages arranged in two lines along the gun-wales, shutting us up, as in a coach-house, and precluding the possibility of our seeing anything of the scenery on either side, or of our feeling the slightest breath of fresh air. A barge was towed by the steamer containing several other carriages, as the traffic in this line between Vienna, and Wallachia, and Russia, is extensive and profitable; and if the Danube Company had the slightest consideration for the comforts of their passengers, they might have put all the carriages in the barge, where there was abundance of room, and released us from this oven-like prison.

On resuming our course down the river, we passed the Wallachian town of Tshernetz, lying a little way inland. Along the left bank appeared at regular distances, a number of watch-towers, similar to those of Austria, forming a sanitary cordon against Bulgaria, which province commenced on the right hand, as soon

as we had passed the small river Timok, which flows into the Danube, dividing Serbia from Bulgaria.

This country was flat and bare on both sides, and the distant ranges of the Carpathian towards the north, and the Balkans to the south, were fast receding, as the vast plain of the Lower Danube opened out before us, with its green meadows and dark forests. A Bulgarian village appeared to be an assemblage of basket dwellings, badly thatched, and scarcely bigger than dog-kennels: they looked like a number of old hampers lying about; there was no church, although it contained several hundred families of Christians. A couple of miles further down, a much smaller hamlet had a Turkish mosque. Is this from the intolerance of the Ottoman government, which is so much talked of by some persons, or is it from indifference on the part of the Christian inhabitants? I hope to have the means of forming an opinion for myself hereafter on this subject.

We soon reached the fortified town of Widin, the capital of Upper Bulgaria, on the right bank, and the straggling village of Calafat on the left. The minarets and cypress-trees of the former offered a striking contrast with the bare and wretched appearance of the latter. There were no symptoms of revolution, or blockade about Widin, but we saw a number of upright poles with round balls on them, raised along the ramparts; there was a general cry on board the steamer that they were the heads of the rebels who had been executed: on examining them through a telescope, however, I soon discovered that they were merely the large sponges used to clean the cannons, which were



attached to the ramrods. The fortifications were low and weak in many points, the parapets being of wattles filled with earth; the lime between the stones of the ramparts being worn away, and their slope too great, they might easily be escalated from the river if they were attacked by surprise. An island on the Wallachian side would be an admirable position to effect operations from, as the ground rises considerably on the side next Bulgaria, falling gradually as it recedes, and forming a natural cover to protect an assailing force from the fire of the town. A flotilla on the Danube might, on the other hand, successfully defend it against such an attack; there was a war schooner lying there, and I was told that they always had a guard-ship.

A person embarked at Calafat, who seemed anxious to avoid all intercourse with those on board, but I was determined to obtain some information from him on the subject of the alleged revolt. He was a tall middle-aged man, with grey mustachios, and though he was dressed with considerable negligence, there was a something about him which betrayed the gentleman and the soldier. After much circumlocution I succeeded in bringing him to talk on Bulgaria. He told me that the Bulgarians were then in open insurrection against the Turks, who gave them chase wherever they could find them, having already killed upwards of a thousand, with a loss of about fifteen. I asked him if the insurgents had any known chief, and he said they had not, but were merely driven by the oppression of the Turks to take up arms against them, and fight them in detached bodies in the hope of delivering the province from their

thralldom. I suggested that they must expect assistance from abroad, otherwise they would never be so deluded as to suppose that they could succeed. He interrupted me in a sharp manner by asking what assistance I alluded to; and I then drew a parallel between the circumstances he had mentioned and the insurrection of Wallachia in 1821, when Ypsilanti came from Russia to take the command of the rebels. This seemed not to please him, and he assured me that Russia would never act in such a way, as she was the best friend the Sultan had. I felt disposed to ask him if he saw anything very green, according to the slang expression, in the white of my eye, but I contented myself with changing the subject of conversation.

I afterwards learnt, from a high official authority, the whole history of my present informant. He had been a general in the Russian service, and had been reduced to the condition of a private soldier in consequence of certain malpractices; he then served in the ranks of the army which was sent by the Czar to Transylvania last year, and had been allowed every opportunity of gaining his epaulettes by distinguishing himself, which he ultimately succeeded in doing, as he was gifted with personal courage. Having afterwards remained in the Danubian Principalities with the army of occupation, his activity, intelligence, and experience, induced his superiors to employ him as a secret emissary in political affairs, and he had now been sent into Bulgaria to encourage the *Rayas* by every possible means to display discontent, and to foment the insurrection. He had recrossed the Danube to report the result of his mission at Bucharest, and just finished his quarantine at Calafat.

We did not touch at Widin, as the Danube Company has two steamers constantly plying up and down ; one on each side of the river, on account of the absurd continuance of the quarantine between Wallachia and Bulgaria, which Russia takes advantage of for political purposes. The Bulgarian line is by far the most profitable to the Company, and, if there were not generally more passengers in the steamer in Pratique than on this occasion, their principal advantage can only be derived by transplanting carriages, as I heard that there were often, even more of them, than we had, on deck ; but our fellow-passengers, if not numerous, were noisy, and when we cast anchor at night, the gentlemen of the Russian lady's suite seemed to have conspired against our chance of enjoying a comfortable night's rest, for they kept up their whist party in the cabin till a most unconscionably late hour. It was a lovely moonlight night, and I continued pacing up and down the quarter-deck, impatiently waiting until their rubber should be finished, as it was in vain to think of sleeping as long as it lasted.

There were no beds, and we were expected to pass the night on the sofas, which surrounded the cabins ; but they looked clean and felt soft, and I longed to measure my length on one of them. Hour after hour passed, and still I heard exclamations of:—

“*Quel est l'atout ?*” and “*La levée et quatre d'honneurs !*” “*Encore une triple !*”

One by one the few other passengers appeared on deck with pillows and cloaks under their arms, driven from the cabin, as I thought, by the indiscreet noise of the whist-players, and I indulged in sundry animadver-

sions on the unwarrantable liberty they were taking with our nocturnal rest. I looked through the open skylight, and then I heard the voice of the Russian countess, calling from the ladies' cabin :—

“En avez-vous par là, Messieurs?”

One of the gentlemen replied, without leaving his seat :

“Nous en avons tant, Madame, qu'elles courent même sur nos cartes, et nous n'osons pas nous coucher.”

Another gentle voice arose from the same retreat, exclaiming :—

“Levons nous toutes, pour faire un charivari à la porte du capitaine !”

I was at a loss fully to comprehend the gist of this dialogue ; but I felt strong misgivings with regard to my own chance of repose, since others had spontaneously renounced theirs ; and it was evident to me that all was not as it should be in the steamer. I proceeded to the companion-ladder, with the intention of descending to the cabin to investigate the real state of matters there ; on the stair I found a lady sitting in a most dejected attitude, sighing dismally, and endeavouring in vain to sleep with her head on one of the steps. I expressed some surprise at the position she had selected, and a feeling of sympathy for her apparent sufferings, of which I begged to know the cause ; and, in reply, she only pronounced a single word, that sufficed to explain the whole affair, for it was the nauseous name of a certain anthropophagous insect, with which it appeared that the cabin literally swarmed. I went below, however, in the hope, which is peculiar to sanguine temperaments, that



my fate would prove an exception to that of others, and that my person might not tempt the cannibal tastes of the obnoxious enemies of sleep; and I lay down on a sofa to bring the fortunes of war to a speedy issue, and determined to yield only to an overwhelming force, which should render my position untenable. I sustained with unwavering front several terrific charges of the heavy dragoons already alluded to; but when I found that numerous squadrons of light cavalry had also taken the field, advancing rapidly, and suddenly retreating, tickling and jumping, biting and jumping again, with a promptness of evolution that baffled my utmost attempts at defence, I then began to stagger under their repeated attacks; and my lines were finally broken by a fierce onslaught of irregular lancers from the neighbouring marshes, which poured in upon me through the open windows, driving me almost mad, with their shrill trumpets and envenomed spears; and the three combined forces obliged me to commence a disorderly flight. I rallied around three camp-stools on deck, which were my only resource, and on them I spent the remainder of the night in occasional intervals of oblivion between my deep and heart-felt philippics against the Danube steamers.

We weighed anchor at an early hour in the morning, and continued our rapid course down the river, passing first Lom-Palanka, beautifully situated on the wooded hills to the right, and then we steamed swiftly under the Bulgarian fortress of Nicopoli, with its clusters of white houses and shining minarets, perched on a line of limestone cliffs, memorable as the scene of the Hungarian

King Sigismund's defeat, by Sultan Bayezid I, in 1396, when a thousand French Knights, with as many esquires, and 6,000 mercenaries, under the command of the Counts of Nevers, La Marche, Bar, Artois, and Eu, the German Chivalry, led by Frederick, Count of Hohenzallern, Grand Prior of the Empire, the Elector Palatine, the Count of Mömfpelgard, the Castellan of Nürnberg, and Hermann II, Count of Cilli, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under their Grand Master, who had brought them all the way from Rhodes, whence they had not yet migrated to Malta, and the Wallachian levies, commanded by their Hospodar Myrtshe in person, were totally routed by the Janissaries, who thus proved themselves superior to the choicest armies of Europe, and the terror of whose name soon spread through every country of Christendom.

Nicopoli is now scarcely in a defensible state, as the fortifications are almost totally dismantled, and indeed it could never have possessed any great degree of strength, at least since the introduction of artillery, because it is commanded by the heights around it; on that occasion, however, it stood a siege of six days, which was raised by the arrival of Sultan Bayezid: a decisive battle was then fought, and King Sigismund embarked with the wreck of his army on board the galleys of the future Knights of Malta, and escaped down the river, leaving his allies to be taken prisoners.

We next came in sight of the Wallachian town of Turno, a low and miserable-looking place: further on, we soon perceived on the right bank, Sistov, a town of some commercial importance, with a population of 21,000

inhabitants, and an old castle rising behind it, in which the peace of 1791 was concluded between Austria and Turkey. While on the Wallachian shore, the large villages of Symnitz and Tutesti appeared lying on the open plain, so flat and bare, that the high and wooded country on the southern side, though little in itself, seemed quite picturesque in comparison.

We were now approaching the termination of our steam voyage, and I was not destined to take leave of the Danube Company without a final example of its respectability. I called for my bill, which was exorbitant, but I could only express my opinion, which the stewards seemed to care little about, and I was obliged to pay a sum so outrageously overcharged, that on reaching the deck I mentioned it to a gentleman, whom I supposed to be a passenger, that it was my intention to write a letter to the general Director of the Company, exposing the extortion which was permitted by their agents: he begged to see my bill, and when I gave it to him, he went to the cabin, whence the head steward soon emerged, offering to refund to me one-third of what I had paid; the fact was that the gentleman chanced to be the agent himself, who was on a tour of inspection; but the Danube Company was incorrigible, for on looking over the sum returned to me, after I had left the steamer, I found that they had still pilfered a florin, as I had had the good faith not to count it at the time.

At last we reached the towns of Rustshuk and Giurgevo, facing each other, and both important in the history of the Danubian provinces: often besieged and destroyed, but still existing, to play a prominent part in any future

war that may take place between Turkey and her great northern rival. Rustshuk is a town of 30,000 inhabitants, and surrounded by strong military works; but the fortifications of Giurgevo were dismantled by the Russians, as well as all the other forts of the left bank, when they last evacuated the principalities, and, as they there stipulated by treaty that they should not be repaired, we found them in a state of complete ruin.

The historical importance of these two towns commenced shortly after the conclusion of the treaty of Sistov, which had the effect of withdrawing Austria from the ranks of the Sultan's enemies, but which by no means impeded the aggressions of Russia. The latter power first succeeded in wresting Georgia from his grasp, and then attempted to obtain possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Czar commenced by giving the widest possible interpretation to the relative clause of the treaty of Kainardjik, which classed him as a guarantee for the religious rights of the Sultan's Christian subjects in these provinces, and he usurped the functions of an active protector, regardless of the logical distinction between these two qualities, and dispensing with the necessary conditions of his intervention, namely, a palpable invasion of these rights, and a public appeal to him as a guarantee. This conduct became at last so violent, that the Ottoman Porte retaliated by closing the Bosphorus against the Russian ships; and an army immediately advanced under General Michelson to demand satisfaction; Yassi, the capital of Moldavia, was taken; and Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, was threatened. The Turkish army, commanded by Mus-



tapha Bairactar, opposed the progress of the Russians, and was beaten. The inhabitants of Bucharest, lured by the fair promises of the invaders, revolted against the Turks, and joining the advanced guard of Michelson's army, drove them out of the town. The Sultan assembled another force at Hadrianople, and attempted to regain his lost territory, but his efforts were in vain, for the military vigour of his empire had been undermined by the insubordination of the Janissaries, who, after founding the Ottoman power by their valour and discipline, were on the verge of overthrowing it by their turbulence and corruption. The Russians then crossed the Danube, and endeavoured to storm Rustshuk and Shumla, but these two places were well defended, and the assailants were repulsed with a heavy loss on both occasions, but principally at Rustshuk, where they lost 6,000 men. The Turks were enticed from their fortresses and fought a pitched battle, in which they were defeated, and they were obliged to retreat behind the Balkans, leaving the whole of Eastern Bulgaria in the hands of the Russians. But Sultan Mahmud II. was endowed with a character of too vigorous a stamp to admit of his giving up any part of his territory without another struggle, and he levied a powerful army under the command of his best General, Kavonosoglu Ahmed Aga, which he sent to attack the well-known Kutusoff at Rustshuk. He succeeded; the Russians were driven across the river to Giurgevo, whither they carried also the inhabitants of Rustshuk; and they set fire to that town on evacuating it. The Turks extinguished the flames, however, and pursued the Russians into Wallachia.

Kutusoff outmanœuvred them by a flank movement to attack their camp, and, seeing his communications intercepted, Ahmed Aga was forced to offer terms which were gladly accepted, on account of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which required that the army engaged with the Turks should return for the defence of the country. The treaty of Bucharest was then concluded, and the treachery of the Greek Murusi, who was in the Turkish service, and secretly in the pay of Russia, deprived the Sultan of the whole of Bessarabia, for which conduct in that negotiation, the traitor was beheaded.

Rustshuk is one of the fortresses strengthening the outer line of defence of Turkey against Russia; Widin, and Nicopoli, being the two others towards the west, and Silistra towards the east. But the Danube is, at best, a weak bulwark against invasion, for no difficulty has ever been experienced by a hostile army in passing it, especially when its left flank was covered by a fleet in the Black Sea, and provisions thus secured. The Czar met with no great obstacles on the Danube, when he last attacked Turkey, in 1828, and, on that occasion, the second, or inner line of defence, afforded the only real protection to the country. This line is formed by the Balkans, whose dense forests and rugged flanks, effectually impede the movements of regular troops, and there are only five passes in their whole length, which are practicable for heavy artillery and waggons. Three of them are closed by the defences of Shumla and Varna, and as these are the most direct and accessible of the five roads, the two towns in front of them may be called the keys of the Balkans. Shumla, it is true, is not

strictly speaking a fortress, but merely an entrenched camp; in the hands of a movable army, however, as the base of its operations embracing Rustshuk, Silistra, Varna, and the mouths of the Danube, all of which points are within three days' march of it, Shumla must prove a most advantageous position; while Varna, although its ramparts are weak, being without salient angles, is so completely defended towards the land by extensive and deep marshes, that a battering-train cannot get within available distance of it, and it could never be taken either by storm or blockade, without a fleet to close it in from the sea: in fact it was only obtained possession of by the Russians in 1829, through the treachery of Yusuf Pasha. The real line of defence is, therefore, the great range of Mount Hæmus, now called the Balkans, and no reliance should be, or I believe is now, placed by the Turks on the Danube, with its four fortresses of Widin, Nicopoli, Rustshuk, and Silistra.

The Russians lost a large force at Giurgevo, in that campaign of 1829, but they completely demolished the place, which can no longer play a warlike part in any future struggle between the two great rivals of the East, unless it be completely fortified anew by the Sultan. Its importance, even in the time of the invasion of the country by the adventurous forces of the Genoese Republic, as the remains of their camp still attest, might be greater than that of Rustshuk, on account of its forming an advantageous *tête de pont* for a Turkish army in the Moldo-Wallachian provinces. It is now the port of Bucharest, and is a busy bustling place in its way.

On landing there, for the first time on Wallachian territory, I was agreeably surprised to find that the government was so much in advance of that of Austria, as to give us little or no trouble with passport or Custom-house formalities; and as we were fortunately not in quarantine, we were not exposed to the Russian rigours of that establishment. The first thing we saw was a Turkish camp, with its green tents full of divans, carpets, and pipes ready for use, which were visible through the wide openings. It was all very well that the Turks should be there, as the Sultan is the sovereign of the province; but there were also Russian soldiers lounging in the pot-houses, who bore about them an air of haughty occupation, little in harmony with the imperial professions of friendly protection, which protection is itself usurped. The streets are straggling and irregular, and the buildings, with a few exceptions, poor; but it is said to be a rising town through the trade of Bucharest, and the exportation of corn grown on the neighbouring plains. We did not stay there longer than we could help; indeed, there was no temptation to do so; and we started for Bucharest as soon as we could find a conveyance. This consisted of the classical covered cart, with four horses abreast, and, to drive us, a sort of peasant, with whom we could not exchange a single word, while we enjoyed this time the additional advantage of sitting on our hard trunks.

We left Giurgevo at a brisk pace, and commenced our journey across a vast plain, which seemed to be interminable; I never saw such a plain in my life; hour after hour we hurried forwards, the horizon never rising



an inch, and nothing appearing to vary its straight unbroken line whichever way we turned. There was no road, but we followed the track of wheels, lightly marked in the dust, and generally without turning or deviating one iota from its course, which seemed to have been drawn on the globe with a gigantic ruler. Sometimes we would pass through a wood, and occasionally we crossed a river on a bridge formed of unhewn logs. Storks flew heavily from us, and herds of horses, cows, and buffaloes, lazily moved aside as we rushed past them in a cloud of dust, for the Wallachian drivers are unsparing of their team. We saw only two villages, Bungasko and Roman, at which latter place we crossed the river Ardjish, where the huts of the peasants seemed to be merely square holes dug in the ground with a roof of branches covered with mud, and a door in one end, accessible by a slope cut for the purpose, but also serving to lead rain-water into it. And yet the people looked healthy, and one might almost say happy; for, notwithstanding the notorious extortions of various kinds to which they are subjected, the extraordinary fertility of the soil shields them from want.

After ten hours' drive we reached the gates of Bucharest. Here we were stopped and interrogated with regard to our purpose in coming; but on the whole, I must say, in justice to the Wallachians, that their passport-system, if such a thing can be called a system, is less troublesome than that of most other continental countries, which are afflicted with the weakness of wishing to check and control the movements of travellers. They take the passport at the gates

of the town, and forward it to the Consul of the nation to which the foreigner belongs, and then it is applied for when required, that functionary being expected to inform the police of any reasons which may exist to render the traveller's stay inadvisable.

We drove to an hotel, which was very different in appearance from the establishments bearing that name in other countries, and we soon discovered that in comfort it was altogether inadequate to its professed purpose of serving as a temporary home to wayfarers. Two large courtyards were surrounded by ranges of buildings, which consisted in stables below and rooms above, all of the latter being accessible by a long open gallery. There was very little furniture in them, and, what there was, of the worst description. No attendance, and yet the charges as high as those of the Hôtel Meurice in Paris. There was nothing better to be found, however, and we were obliged to make the best of it.

Bucharest has a peculiar idiosyncrasy of its own. Carriages, for instance, are considered a luxury elsewhere, but here they are one of the necessities of life, and feet are the superfluity; for in summer, the dust, and in winter, the mud, totally preclude the possibility of walking in the streets; while, even did neither of these evils exist, the danger of being driven over would make it equally difficult, as there are no *trottoirs* for foot-passengers. There is, however, every facility for hiring carriages, as there are innumerable small open vehicles in attendance at central points, and a fixed tariff of payments. The coachmen never ask whither they are required to drive, but, as soon as any one

jumps into their carriage, off they start, and the passengers are expected to steer their course by hitting them with their cane on the right or the left arm, according to the turn which they desire to take, and a poke in the middle of the back makes them stop. The streets are exceedingly narrow, atrociously ill-paved, and most irregular, the houses being in different lines with corners jutting out, and gable ends protruding half-way across the thoroughfares. They are always in a state of unimaginable filth, heaps of rubbish lying about in all directions, and huge waggons with their oxen and buffaloes standing for days together in one spot. Many of the houses are large and handsome, but wretched huts and booths may generally be seen in their immediate neighbourhood; prodigal splendour, and squalid misery, jostling each other in all directions; and wealth, attained by doubtful means, squandered in ostentation, without the slightest regard for the welfare of those dependent on its possessors. The great number of trees, which are everywhere visible in the town, enliven its appearance, however, and give it the aspect of an assemblage of villas; for most of these costly mansions have extensive gardens, and the area occupied is thus sufficiently great for a city of three times its population, which is little more than 100,000 inhabitants, while the circumference of its boundaries is said to be twelve English miles. A large portion of Bucharest was burnt down three years ago, and ruined houses are still seen, with their blackened walls and fallen beams half consumed as they were left by the conflagration, and in some places great open spaces are



found, where thickly peopled streets and lanes once stood. This will give it a chance of being built in a better style than it was, and regularity may be introduced in the new lines of building, some of which are exceedingly handsome, though hardly finished.

The bridges across the small river Dumbovitzza, which traverses the town, are the most singular specimens of their kind I ever saw, being scarcely raised above the surface of the water, and constructed of wood in the rudest manner. No less than 200 churches are scattered among the houses, most of them with tin-covered steeples, and some almost picturesque from the quaint figures of saints painted on their external walls; open cemeteries usually surround them, and the stone crosses, marking the graves, are often curiously chiselled. There are public gardens, too, attractive to children and nursery maids by rough imitations of Astley's and Franconi's in the open air, and frequented by the high society of the place on Sunday evenings, when military bands are in attendance. But the most fashionable promenade is outside the town, where shrubberies have been planted on each side of the public road, and walks have been cut in them, not without taste. Hundreds of gay equipages drive up and down there daily, while their occupants show their last new bonnets, and inhale their respective shares of dust; but hardly any one seeks air, shade, and exercise, in the extensive grounds on either side.

I made the acquaintance of most of the principal personages of Bucharest, to whom I was presented by our acting Consul-general, Mr. Effingham Grant. I found several of these agreeable, and visited them often. I had



also frequent opportunities of seeing His Highness Prince Stirbey, who is affable in the extreme. He talks on the state of the country with much ease, being thoroughly versed in the French language, in which his expressions are well chosen, and even eloquent; and he courteously professes to feel the greatest degree of satisfaction in becoming acquainted with Englishmen. He is a man of middle age and distinguished appearance; quick in manner, and highly gifted with the talent of talking on any subject of conversation which may chance to be proposed.

The most alarming accounts of the revolution in Bulgaria, as it was called at Bucharest, being now in circulation, I determined on going there immediately to ascertain the truth. We had made some agreeable acquaintances during the few days we had been in the *chef-lieu* of Wallachia, and I therefore contemplated leaving the remainder of my party at the hotel, with less anxiety on their account, and hurriedly made preparations for my journey, accompanied only by a Greek servant, whom I engaged in favour of his knowledge of the Wallachian, Bulgarian, and Turkish languages.

## CHAPTER X.

TRAVELLING IN WALLACHIA—COUNTRY-HOUSE—SLATINA—CRAJOVA—THE  
 RIVER SYLL—ROAST PORK—CALAFAT—WIDIN—ZIA PASHA—HALIL BEY—  
 ALI RISA PASHA—MUSTAPHA PASHA AND ISMAEL PASHA—DEFENCES OF  
 WIDIN—MALTESE DOCTOR—BATH—DINNER PARTY—FEHIM EFFENDI—  
 STORM.

AGAIN I had consigned myself to the tender mercies of a cart without springs, and, through the vigorous exertions of six post-horses, was speeding rapidly over the rich plains of Wallachia. This time I had no cruel trunks and portmanteaus to hammer, punch, and drill their corners into my back as I jolted along, and a friendly carpet-bag alone contained my wardrobe, and took its place among a host of pillows on which I reclined at full length, not altogether dissatisfied with my mode of locomotion, for I had gained experience, and had found out how to make the most of cart-travelling. The pace was good; I calculated that we went steadily over the ground at the rate of twelve or thirteen miles an hour; and little time was lost in the changing of horses. That was a singular process, to be sure. We galloped into a large fold of hurdles, in which a mud cottage and a long shed or two generally stood. Shouts for horses were raised on all sides; and a boy would spring on a bare-backed pony, and scour the plain in search of them. Attracted by the sound of bells which they bear for that

purpose, he would at last find a herd of them, and screaming and shouting, he would drive them before him at a smart gallop into the fold. The *Tshaush*, or Serjeant of the post-station, would in the meantime have detached and turned loose the horses that brought us, and, after carefully laying a number of ropes on the ground, with their ends tied to the splinter-bars, he would select from the herd the six thin and shaggy brutes which were destined to drag us to the next post-house. One by one he would place them within their traces, which he would raise, and pass the double strap serving as a collar over their heads ; a rope round their necks and passed through their mouths, was the only bridle ; a sheepskin girthed on the near wheeler, served as a saddle ; and a lad thrown upon it, with a long whip in his hand, completed our equipment. A shout from the *Tshaush*, a scream from the postilion, and off we set full gallop to the next fold, where the same manœuvre was repeated. Sometimes a horse would knock up on the way ; but that was a mere trifle, he was turned adrift to graze, and we drove on as if nothing had happened ; and thus, on a long stage, we would occasionally arrive with three or four horses, after having started with six.

The great number of young men whom I saw lounging about the stations induced me to ask if they were all postilions, and I was answered in the affirmative, because when so employed they escaped being pressed into the military service. I could not understand what Wallachia has to do with an army ; surely a province of the Turkish empire would never be called upon to make war on its own account, and a corps of *gens d'armes* would

suffice for police purposes ; but on the contrary there are, besides the latter, three regiments of regular Infantry, and one of Lancers.

We crossed the river Ardjish on a bridge of boats of the most rude construction, at the small village of Prezi-cheni, and continued our rapid course across the boundless plain ; now traversing a vast forest of oaks, and now passing between interminable fields of maize ; with an occasional hamlet of miserable cabins, half subterraneous, presenting the aspect of mounds of earth, and open at one side where a trellis of branches covered the door. The roads were merely tracks, formed by the long lines of rough waggons, laden principally with firewood and drawn by six or eight oxen, which we frequently passed ; and they were the broadest roads I ever saw, for in some places they seemed to occupy a space of at least a quarter of a mile between the fields or forest. When we overtook or met these waggons, the postilions would not go out of their way, but at a great distance raised a long shrill cry, dismal as a steam whistle, and then the Wallachian boors would tumble out of their carts on all sides, apparently starting from their sleep, and goad their cattle or buffaloes, until they got beyond the reach of the postilion's whip, as we flew past them.

When we stopped at Klechian, I remarked two strapping fellows, armed to the teeth, who were travelling on a sort of four-wheeled truck, no larger than a tea-tray, and as low as a wheelbarrow, about which there was not a morsel of iron,—the wheels were not bound, the axles were of wood, and even the linch-pins seemed to have been cut from the trees on the road-side. This was a



Wallachian post-chaise, and its occupants, who were sitting on straw, were country policemen, going their rounds with four post-horses. I entered the habitation of the Captain of the Station,—for they all have military titles, from the postmaster to the hostler; it was a cottage made of wattled branches plastered with mud; furniture there was none; and its only inmate was a dirty baby, in a cradle of wood scooped out; the poor thing was swaddled, struggling to release its arms from the filthy and cruel strait-waistcoat, and roaring: I unloosed the bandages, and it soon ceased crying and fell asleep, to the utter horror of some people standing at the door, who seemed to think I had killed it. I left them to study this lesson in nursery management, and resumed my seat in my cart, to be hurried over another twelve miles' stage within the hour. Some of the stages were much shorter, however, and we left Arambatz, Lada, and Tekutch behind us in no time; although the postilions stopped half way to breathe their horses, whatever might be the distance, and thus lost a few minutes at every halt.

At Tekutch, a large village with several good cottages and a grocer's shop, which is an immense advance of civilization for Wallachia, I saw a large and handsome dwelling—the country-seat of the proprietor of the village—villagers, fields, and live-stock, in the neighbourhood. They have a strange notion of a country-house in Wallachia. They build a splendid mansion, not on the banks of the river which winds through the fields there, nor on the borders of that old oak wood, nor on the rising ground which must command so fine a view

towards the south; but in the centre of their poor, squalid, filthy assemblage of huts, which they call a village; surrounded by pools of stagnant mud, which may suit the tastes of their swine, buffaloes, geese and ducks, but certainly do not form a picturesque object in the science of landscape gardening; and without a single tree whose grateful shade can be sought in the sultry days of a southern summer. No vestige of a garden; no lawn; neither walks, nor rides, nor drives; and not a seat nor rustic arbour to go to with a book. And this they call a country-house; and, what is worse, they go to live in it too, and think it very delightful, because they have spent a large sum of money in building it. I beg the gentleman's pardon for daring to say a word against his good taste, but, as I did not even ask the name of the lord of Tekutch, he cannot take it as personal to him, and will, I hope, appropriate to himself only his share of the criticism which I venture to bestow on the class to which he belongs. There are, however, a few exceptions, and I hope soon to have the pleasure of recording more than one, as I have accepted invitations to country-houses, where I am told everything is in a very different style.

Stoboreste was the next post, and after that we came to Mirtesti, without much change in the scenery, but there the ground became more broken, and the road less monotonous. As we galloped down a steep hill, the horses laying their feet to the ground as fast as they possibly could, and the cart tumbling and tossing from side to side most fearfully with no drag on, we came upon a herd of cows, some of which were in the

middle of the road, and had not time to get out of the way. The postilion charged them with a wild scream, and cracking his whip over his head. I thought an upset inevitable, and was placing the cushions so as to avoid contusions, while I calculated that at least two or three cows must be killed; we jostled through them, knocking against them, and swerving to the other side after each blow; but the *Serrugee*, or post-boy, never looked round to ascertain whether the cart were still on its wheels or on its side. At last one cow was taken between two of the four leaders; it was thrown down by the end of the pole; and it rolled over their slackened traces, while the wheel-horse jumped over it as it lay on its back in the middle of the road. I looked round when we had passed, and I saw it get up and shake itself, none the worse, but apparently much astonished by this interruption to its tranquil chewing of the cud.

At Mirtesti I saw a flour-mill worked by four oxen, which was a most clumsy proceeding, and required an extensive building, as the circle in which they turned was necessarily of very great diameter, to suit their slow and awkward movements. The corn was being threshed, or rather trampled out, by horses galloping on it round a pole in the open air.

We changed horses after that, at a considerable town called Slatina, where neat European looking houses and churches of some size transported us suddenly five hundred miles to the west of the miserable villages through which we had been travelling. It is perched on the high bank of the river Olto or Aluta, over which a solid and handsome wooden bridge led us to a richly wooded



plain, which is bounded at a few miles' distance by another range of low hills, overhanging the river Ollez. We crossed this stream at Mirda, where we changed horses, and entered Little Wallachia. Here everything assumed a different aspect; the roads were raised and macadamised, the villages were composed of neat cottages, plastered with lime and thatched with straw, and the country was hilly and picturesque. One felt the vicinity of Germany, and the influence of the quiet, industrious habits of the western neighbours of the Wallachians.

Another stage brought us to the capital of this province, which is the town of Crajova. It was late at night, and as I had thus travelled twenty-eight hours without stopping, it may well be supposed that I was not a little fatigued, considering the never-to-be-forgotten neglect of springs and road-making by the Wallachians, together with their furious manner of driving. We lingered on through long lines of ill-paved streets, which, by the way, were lit with tallow-candles, and I thought we never should reach our inn. I found it much better than I expected, however, when I did get into it, and infinitely superior to the hotels of Bucharest.

A good, though short, night's rest restored my strength, and I was up at daylight, much to the despair of my attendant Pietro, who had calculated on a longer respite from the sufferings of the waggon; but I was impatient to get to the other side of the Danube, and the horses were ordered. On leaving Crajova we soon reached the river Syll: here was neither bridge nor ford, but a large raft, on which the cart and six horses were to cross without being disconnected. Pietro alighted, saying that



he would rather trust to his own feet on the raft, and advising me to do the same, but I was reclining so comfortably on my cushions and straw, that I told him they might drive me where they liked. I would not move.

Several large waggons were standing at the landing place, having been just disembarked. The postilion cracked his whip and commenced describing a circuit on the muddy bank of the river, in order to reach the raft by going round them. We had not gone far, however, when the small hoofs of the horses began to sink; the driver tried to flog them through it, but his own horse soon disappeared in the soft mud, leaving only the head and neck and the pommel of the saddle visible: he got on the pole, the end of which rested on some harder ground, and I thought it time to sit up and look about me, as a black and liquid matter was oozing through the bottom of the cart. The postilion did not seem to think of me, but pulling out his knife, cut all the traces, sprang on one of the leaders which had not sunk deeper than its knees, and after much dragging and shouting, he extricated his horses and left me to my fate.

Pietro stood looking at me from a distance, without making any exertions in my favour, and I think the scoundrel even had the heart to laugh, when I called to him to do something for me. At last I was saved from the wreck, not in a life-boat, but on the Atlas-like shoulders of a stalwart Wallachian boor, who waded through the mud with his huge flat feet spreading on it like those of a duck, and conveyed me to dry land, after the fashion of *Æneas* and *Anchises*. With the help of ropes and beams the cart was got out, and the horses

were harnessed to it again ; we crossed the river on the raft, and continued our journey.

After changing horses at two isolated post-houses, and after having travelled for a couple of hours through a splendid forest, we reached a vast open plain, arid and burnt up by the intolerable heat of the sun. As we proceeded a not unpleasant odour reached my nostrils, especially promising to a famished wayfarer, for we had not yet breakfasted, but it was certainly rather unexpected in the centre of a barren and inhospitable *steppe* : it was unmistakeably the smell of good roast meat, as it is turned by a patent smoke-jack, crackling, and hissing, and dripping before a glorious fire. I looked about me in wonder, but nothing was to be seen. I soon concluded that I must have been mistaken, as the odour was no longer distinguishable ; but again it tickled my olfactory nerves with more pungent reality than before. This time I could not be deceived ; what could it be ? Pietro was asleep ; so I tried the few words of Wallachian which I could master, and asked the *Serrugee* what it was. He seemed to understand the question, but I did not understand the answer, which was long and emphatic.

One magical word, however, was not unknown to me, as, like many others in that language, it bore a strong resemblance to the Italian term ; that word was, pork. Pork ! Roast pork ! thought I. Well, roast pork is not a bad thing, especially when one is so very hungry. And I looked about me again ; the smell was repeated, and I saw at a little distance several groups of peasants, beside a number of fires.

The Wallachians must be excessively fond of roast

pork to be cooking it at every twenty yards along the road, said I to myself; I wonder if they would let me join their feast. I was reflecting how this could be done, and endeavouring to awaken Pietro, when we passed one of the fires close to the road; an immense hog was being roasted whole, but there was nothing festive in the demeanour of four men who were beside it. One sat on the ground with his head between his knees, the very image of despair, two others gazed at us with mute grief depicted on their countenance, and the fourth was sighing and groaning as he stirred the embers mournfully. This was altogether inexplicable, and I made the postilion pull up, that I might inquire into the meaning of the mystery. It was soon solved with Pietro's help; a herd of fat swine had been removed on the previous day from the marshes of the Danube on their way to a fair in Hungary; the heat of the weather, and the want of water on this plain, had killed them all while crossing it; and the proprietors were now melting them down to save the lard.

There they were, to be sure; we saw them lying about as we drove on; 300 carcasses of the unclean animals strewed in all directions, many of them having apparently died under the stunted bushes, where they had sought shelter from the scorching rays of the midday sun.

Two more stages, Cioroiul and Scripetal, and we reached the small town of Calafat on the left bank of the Danube. Nearly opposite stood Widin, the Virgin Fort, as the Turks call it, from its never having been taken; but from the appearance of the fortifications I concluded that it had remained an old maid, like many others of that respected class, merely because no



very serious offer had been made. Calafat is a wretched place, and I got out of it as soon as I could procure a boat to cross the great river. We floated along with the current a little way, as the capital of Upper Bulgaria lies lower down the stream, and then pulled vigorously across.

Amongst others who had shown me attention at Bucharest, and whom I went to take leave of when I was about to start on this excursion, was Ahmed Vefyk Effendi, the Turkish Commissioner of the Danubian Provinces: he asked me to carry despatches for him to the Pasha of Widin, which I willingly consented to do; and on reaching the town I now directed the boatmen to land me at the stairs leading from the river to the Pasha's palace. They did so, and we entered a large court-yard, surrounded by ranges of dilapidated buildings, with open verandahs and a broad stone staircase in the centre of each. Here were neither custom-houses nor quarantines, nor examinations of passports, nor waiting an hour for admittance, nor police importunities; the Turks are above all that sort of thing.

On reaching the principal verandah, we found some soldiers lounging there, and Pietro addressing himself to one of them, we asked if we could see the Pasha. This bold proposition met with an astonished negative; and then we suggested that one of the household officers should be called. A strange slouching figure appeared; we told him that I had despatches for the Pasha. He showed us into a room where at least a dozen Turks, Albanians, and negroes were lying on a long divan. They all rose, and I seated myself in the corner of



honour which was politely offered me. A conversation commenced with them through the medium of the trusty Pietro; and I learnt that the Pasha had not left his harem, but that he would probably soon be visible. After a short while, a Turk came to the door, and beckoned to us to follow him. We traversed several long passages with broken steps here and there, and brick floors, uneven and much out of repair; and at last we reached a room into which we were ushered with great ceremony.

A handsome young man of four or five and twenty was sitting cross-legged on the low sofa, and at a little distance sat bolt upright an elderly Turk with a long beard. This must be the Pasha, I thought; and I was addressing to him my opening speech for Pietro to translate, when to my great astonishment he suddenly got up, as if moved by springs, and fell on his knees before the young man, who motioned to him to rise. They then exchanged the oriental salutation of lowering their right hands to the floor, and touching their mouths and foreheads, and the supposed Pasha shuffled out of the room without taking the slightest notice of me. Then the young man must be the Pasha, I presumed; and to him I handed my despatches. He took them, and, having looked gravely at the directions and the seals, he returned them to me, motioning to me at the same time to be seated. I thought this very strange, and I bade Pietro ask the young Turk what he meant. He replied that the Pasha would let me know when he was ready to receive me. I then inquired who he was, and I was told that he was the Divan Effendi, or chief secretary. Pipes and coffee were brought, and we conversed,

through Pietro, on the general politics of Europe, in which I was surprised to find that he was well versed.

At last the Pasha intimated his desire to see me, and we were taken to his reception-room, where he was sitting smoking a *narguilé*. He was a middle-aged man, with an agreeable countenance, dressed in the modern costume of Turkey, which is an imitation of that of Western Europe; and he was most courteous in manner. The Pasha asked Pietro if he was my *dragoman*, or interpreter; the sly dog would not answer until he had communicated the important question to me, and when I had answered in the affirmative, the Pasha requested him to sit down on a chair opposite us, which Pietro did with an air of unmitigated satisfaction. The Pasha then commenced the conversation by saying how much he regretted his own ignorance of the English or French languages, but he hoped that we should not be the less cordial in our acquaintance on that account; and then, after offering me a pipe and coffee, he broke the seals of the despatches which I had given him. After reading one of the letters, he looked up suddenly, and begged me to excuse the question he was about to put, but we lived in such strange times that no precaution was unnecessary, and he would be obliged to me if I would tell him my name. I did so, and he compared it with what was written in the letters. Having apparently satisfied himself on that subject, he asked me if I would be his guest, or if I preferred living in the house of a Christian? I answered, that I would never be so rude as to decline his invitation and accept that of any one else; and he then sent to let his son-in-

law, Halil Bey, know that a *musaphir*, or visitor, would occupy his rooms. After a short discussion on the late disturbances in Upper Bulgaria, I rose and left him, having thanked him for his repeated injunctions to consider his *konak*, or palace, as my own.

I was conducted to the same room which I had first entered, and which proved to be the antechamber of Halil Bey's apartments; and the Turks, Albanians, and negroes, with whom I had conversed were his attendants. They now received me with the greatest respect and humility, and fell back easily to their position as servants and slaves. I was shown into the inner room, where a lad of sixteen was sitting. This was Halil Bey, of Bittolia in Macedonia, who was betrothed, but not yet married, to the Pasha's daughter, a lovely young girl, as I was told, of twelve years of age; and their wedding was to take place in a few days, when the *Ramazan*, or Lenten season, should have ceased. The youthful bridegroom-elect was also most uncommonly handsome, with a noble countenance, and a slight and graceful figure; his small white hands were perfect models for a sculptor; and his large expressive eyes were more those of a beautiful woman than of a young man. He rose with unaffected simplicity, and, seating me in the favoured corner, took his place further down the low couch, bidding me welcome, and saying that he hoped I would consider his apartments as my home, and his attendants as my slaves. All this was accompanied with a degree of gentlemanly familiarity which struck me as a proof either of a finished education or of a thoroughly good heart. He told me that, although no Osmanli



could break his fast until sunset during the *Ramazán*, that did not prevent him from recollecting that those belonging to other persuasions might not only feel hungry, as he did, but might also satisfy their appetites without infringing their religious duties; and he begged me to give my orders freely to one of my slaves in the next room when I felt disposed to eat. And then, lowering his hand to the ground and raising it to his lips and forehead, he glided out of the room pronouncing the word *rahat*, which means, rest.

I heard him giving orders as he passed through the ante-chamber, and as soon as he was gone, a negro appeared with a basin and ewer of Turkish fashion, and, kneeling before me, poured water on my hands; an Albanian entered with a *narguilé*, or hookah, as it is called in India, which is certainly the most perfect manner in which tobacco can be smoked; and three Turks came last, one of them bearing a tray covered with a richly embroidered cloth; this was raised by another and put on his shoulder; a third took a small china cup and the silver filagree *zaph*, or holder; and the first having filled it with coffee, it was handed to me. Then came the most delicious iced *sherbet*; and all this was done with an air of as grave respect by my quondam companions in the ante-room, as if they had never set eyes on me before. After some time, I began to think that something more solid might not be amiss, considering that I had no *Ramazán* to keep, and I hinted as much to Pietro. He called an attendant, and gave some orders in Turkish, with an air of grandeur which made me laugh in spite of myself; but, when the Turk was gone, Pietro's air of



humble reproach made me regret my want of command over the muscles of my physiognomy, so much did the poor man seem to feel it. A small table was soon brought, with a large silver tray on it. The hand-washing-and-kneeling process was again gone through, and I remarked that the Albanian also knelt to Pietro; but he cast such a deprecating glance at me that I succeeded in keeping my gravity this time. A china bowl of soup was placed on the tray, and two spoons put opposite each other.

“ I wonder who is going to dine with me ? ” I said to Pietro.

“ I am ! ” replied he.

“ The deuce you are ! ”

“ For heaven’s sake, master,” said he, “ do not disgrace me. It is no want of respect on my part; but if the Pasha hears that I did not dine with you, after he made me sit down and gave me a pipe, he will be furious, and he will never see you again, either.”

“ Why not ? Does he not know that you are my servant ? ”

“ No, sir; you said yourself that I was your *dragoman*, and a *dragoman* is always looked upon as a gentleman in Turkey. I’ll clean your boots again, and wait on you when we go to the other side of the Danube; but I beseech you, let me dine with you now.”

I was sitting on the divan during this conversation, and Pietro explained the delay to the Turks by saying that I did not like my soup too hot, and then he moved towards the table with a supplicating look which I could not resist, and we sat down together. After tasting of

at least five-and-twenty dishes, all exquisitely prepared, though sweetmeats and vegetables, jellies and stews, were served in a singular species of alternation, we again had our hands washed, and resumed our pipes, Pietro taking his this time with an air of triumph. One of the Pasha's servants, who was a Greek slave, then appeared, and said to me in his native language,—“His Excellency Zia Pasha begs to know if the most noble General would feel disposed to go and see Ali Risa Pasha, the Commander of the Forces, who is an officer of the same rank as the noble General; and if so, the horses are ready for the General and his dragoman.”

“What General do you mean?” I said; but Pietro suddenly interrupted me by coughing violently, and when I looked at him, he winked to me in the most significant manner. I was too angry to laugh, and regardless of the presence of the Pasha's servant, who understood Greek, I asked him if he had been playing off any of his confounded tricks with the Pasha, by taking advantage of my not understanding Turkish.

“No, indeed, master,” he said, half crying; “I told the Pasha nothing but what you bade me; but I was speaking to my fellow countryman here, and—”

“And what?”

“And I told him that—”

“That what? speak it out at once.”

“That you are a General, sir.”

“And did you tell the Pasha that I am a General?”

I asked of the Greek servant.

“No, sir,” he replied; “I did not tell any one.”

“And how did the Pasha bid you come to me?”

“ He told me to go to the English gentleman.”

“ Very well,” I said; “ recollect that I have no other title. Tell the Pasha that I am ready to go to the Commander of the Forces. And you, Pietro, let me have no more of your nonsense.”

I do not know how they settled the matter together, but Pietro followed the Greek, and I heard them talking in the most animated manner in the other room. I was always called the *Beyzadé* after this, and I believe that term is used by the Turks to qualify a foreign gentleman who has no other title, although he may not be the son of a Bey, as the words imply.

A gallant grey, covered with magnificent housings, was led to the door for me, and another, less splendidly equipped, was prepared for Pietro. We mounted, and rode through the streets, accompanied by three or four grooms on foot, as is the practice in Turkey. In the bazaar every one rose from their carpets in the booths as we passed, and the most elaborate *salaams* were performed in our honour. I gave a hint with the spur to the noble charger of the Pasha, that all this obeisance was intended more for him than for his rider; but he seemed to be too much accustomed to that sort of thing to take any notice of it, and I was obliged to respond myself; so I caracolled through the streets, bowing to the people in the most approved fashion of popularity-loving sovereigns. When we reached the *konak* of Ali Risa Pasha, I found that I was expected, and I was shown into a room where no less than three Pashas were assembled. The Commander of the Forces was a Ferik Pasha, or Lieutenant-general, who had been sent from Constantinople to take



command of the troops in Upper Bulgaria, in consequence of the recent insurrections. He was a short and very fat old man, with an exceedingly intelligent countenance and blunt manner; he is said to be a distinguished and talented general. Beside him were Mustapha Pasha and Ismael Pasha, each of them being a General of Brigade; the former having risen to his present rank in the artillery, and the latter in the cavalry. Mustapha Pasha was also stout, but younger than Ali Risa Pasha; he seemed to be very silent, but spoke sensibly when he did join in the conversation. Ismael Pasha was middle-aged, thin, and active in figure, with quick eyes, and a lively way of talking, which, with the kind expression of his countenance, made him as agreeable a companion as could be to one who was obliged to communicate with him by an interpreter. He has been long in contact with Europeans, and shows it by the easy familiarity of his conversation. They were all three under Zia Pasha, the Governor of Widin, who has the rank of Vezir, or a Pasha of three tails. We talked for some time on the subject of the great change which has been produced in the Turkish army by its regular organization, and, from the details I heard, it appears to be thoroughly disciplined. It is recruited by the drawing of lots, and this system seems to work well.

The Ferik Pasha, or Lieutenant-general, offered me an escort when I mentioned my intention of visiting the interior of the country, as he said it was still in rather an unsettled state. After thanking him for his offer and accepting it, I took leave of them, and Ismael Pasha told me he would meet me at Belgradgik.



I then directed our grooms to guide us to the house of the Metropolitan Bishop, whom I wished to see, after having heard of him, as it was a curious study to observe the game he was playing. There could be no doubt of his being secretly a Russian agent, as most of the Greek clergy are; and his civility towards the Turks seemed to indicate, as I was told, that the reverend Prelate managed to have two strings to his bow. On this occasion, however, I was disappointed, as I did not find him at home; but I could not regret my having gone to his house, which was in the suburbs, for I thus had an opportunity of seeing the greater part of the town and fortifications. The latter were built by Sultan Ahmed about three centuries ago, and I should think their defences would not prove efficient in modern warfare, as the ramparts were low, the curtains so long that they were out of all proportion, and the bastions apparently weak; the great breadth of the ditch, however, and the plentiful supply of water from the Danube, by which the walls were completely surrounded, would give them a degree of strength in any assault not directed by skilful engineers; and the impossibility of mining, which is the great resource of sieges in the East, would render the place defensible in an insurrection of the natives, though it could not stand a day before the attack of a regular army with heavy artillery, and a good corps of sappers.

As it was still early, I determined to take a Turkish bath. On my way to the *hamam*, I met a bearded and hirsute horseman in the European dress, wearing a sword at his side, and with two pistols at each of his saddle bows: beside him rode a lady in the costume of

a Smyrniote Greek, with the tight embroidered jacket, and gauze kerchief on her head. Her uncovered face contrasted with the spectre-like accoutrements of the Turkish women in the streets, whose eyes alone were visible; and her attitude on horseback, which was neither that of our side-saddle, nor of the Eastern pad on which ladies ride as in an arm-chair, but was simply identical with that of the gentleman, seemed to strike horror into the astonished minds of the decorum-loving Turks, who gazed at her as she passed with an expression of indignant surprise. In passing us, they bowed, saying, "Bon jour, Monsieur;" and when I had returned their salutation, I bade Pietro inquire who they were. The principal groom told us that the gentleman was an English doctor, just arrived with his wife, who was a Greek.

On the following day, he called at the *konak* to see me, and when I addressed him in English, he replied in Italian that he was a British subject, having been born at Malta; but that he was of Italian parents, and spoke no other language. He told me his history, which I find is not an uncommon one in Turkey: having failed in trade, he was taken by an Italian medical man as his assistant and apprentice during a professional tour in the East; when the doctor returned to Italy, the apprentice remained in Turkey, and set up on his own account, although he had not studied more than the practice of his principal gave him the opportunity; he was appointed surgeon to a Turkish regiment, and he married a widow with some money; and he was now a distinguished physician, favoured and protected by the Turks, courted by the *Rayas*, and amassing a fortune

by his extensive practice among both classes. He gave me much information on the state of the country, which, by his account, was as bad as can well be imagined, and too bad to be believed. I left the Turkish bath, where I had undergone the whole process of elaborate cleanliness with feelings of greater surprise and repugnance than satisfaction, to the utter astonishment of Pietro, who enjoyed above measure the privilege of joining several of the aristocracy of Widin in these public ablutions, and who had now succeeded in establishing a footing of equality between us, which he kept constantly assuring me would cease as soon as we should return to the other side of the Danube, and which had now become a source of unalloyed amusement to me. He was inimitable when reclining languidly after his bath, with a napkin tied round his ugly old head like a turban, and a long pipe in his hand, ordering every one about, and looking as dignified as the Great Mogul. If he caught my eye expressing more of mockery than of respect, he would whisper in Greek,—

“For Heaven’s sake, master, be cautious. Think how furious the Pasha would be if he found us out.”

And he would expatiate pleasantly on the tortures which would await us in that event, making me his accomplice in the fraud, which my ignorance and his vanity had together committed.

Shortly after we returned to the *konak*, the Pasha sent to inform me that dinner was ready. Pietro jumped up.

“Come, come,” said I, “this is going too far; you do not surely expect to dine with the Pasha?”



“ And how can you speak to him without me, Sir?”

“ Never mind that,” I replied, “ I would rather not speak at all, than take my servant to sit at his table.”

“ And is your servant not to have anything to eat?”

“ I dare say they will take care of you,” said I, as I left him in the worst of humours; and I heard afterwards that the impostor had accepted the invitation of the Divan Effendi, with whom he dined, in company with Halil Bey.

The Pasha seemed to appreciate the feeling of respect which had induced me not to bring my dragoman, although he was not aware of the full extent of the indiscretion of which I should have been guilty had I done so, for he made no inquiries, but merely selected the Greek slave from among twenty or thirty attendants, and bade him stand behind my chair to minister to my wants. There were above a dozen guests; the Pasha sat on the divan, and told the Greek to ask me whether I would sit on his left on a chair. I recollected certain pains and cramps in the knees which I had already suffered in my attempts to sit like the ninth part of a man, and I preferred the chair. The others took their seats round the table, with the exception of one poor sneaking Turk, who was evidently the lowest in rank, and whose place was occupied by the derangement of the ceremonial plan which I had introduced by sitting on the Pasha's left hand. No one else had dared to take the seat of honour on his right, and it alone remained vacant. When our host perceived the embarrassment of his guest he insisted on his taking that place, whispering to the Greek to tell me that he



honoured misfortune, as this was Fehim Effendi, the Governor of Lom-Palanka, who had been dismissed in consequence of the riots there, although no fault could be ascribed to him. The air of awe and reverence with which the hapless ex-Governor sat beside his dread lord was most amusing; he hardly dared to extend his spoon or fork towards the solitary dish in which all dipped theirs, and he seemed altogether overpowered by the unwonted vicinity of Vice-Royalty.

We had waited in profound silence for at least a quarter of an hour, every one looking on the ground, until the evening gun fired, and then the Pasha gave the signal of attack: a confused skirmish followed, amid the continual advance and retreat of dishes; gaps were filled up with amazing rapidity; the carnage and slaughter could not possibly be calculated, as the enemy always presented a new front, bringing up fresh forces to withstand the brunt of the fierce onslaught, which thirteen fasting Turks, and a rather famished Englishman, had directed on that one centre point, until all cried "Hold! enough!" This general result was not produced simultaneously, however, and I admired the good sense of the fashion of leaving the table as the appetite was satisfied. The Pasha was the first to retire to the other end of the divan, where he smoked his pipe after the customary ablution. I followed, and then several others joined us; but the engagement continued in the distance with undiminished ardour, until the honours of the day remained with the cook, whose army of dishes was left sole master of the field, one of them having triumphantly stood some time on the table without a

single challenge being made to fight. We sat smoking and sipping coffee for some time, a conversation being carried on in which I was unable to bear any part; and it was not interrupted until a bright flash of lightning, and a tremendous crash of thunder, spread dismay among the Osmanlis. The old *konak* shook to its very foundations; tiles fell, and window-shutters flapped violently; a storm had come down rapidly, and as the casements were open, the heavy fall of rain on the waters of the Danube, which bathe the walls of the palace, sounded like a second deluge, rising to drown the world; while the moaning of the wind, engulfed in the long passages and empty halls, simulated the lamentations of dying mankind. It was really a grand and awful scene, as each gleam of lightning dazzled our eyes, and left us to the flickering light of the dim candles in the large room, and the pitch darkness without; the howling of dogs in the courtyard, the neighing of horses in the stable under our feet; and the shrieking of storks as they flew heavily along in search of shelter, added to its wildness; and the hurrying of slaves from place to place, intent on securing the rickety old building from falling to pieces, presented an image of terror and stupefaction, which seemed to have invaded even the guests.

Amid all these majestic convulsions of nature, and weak trepidation of men, the Pasha sat calmly smoking his pipe, alike regardless of the dangers to be apprehended from the former, and of the fears displayed by the latter; but when his courtiers rose one by one to leave the room, and throwing themselves at his feet, seemed to kiss the ground before him and touch it with their brows, a faint smile would light up his features; and

once he cast a quick glance of intelligence to me, expressive of his contempt for others, and of his fellow-feeling with me because I did not show alarm. We were thus soon left alone, and, the Greek having come to refill our pipes, we renewed our conversation on the subject of the late revolt of the Bulgarians, through his interpretation, and the Pasha talked for some time as calmly as if he really were unconscious that he was in the most imminent danger of being suddenly buried under the ruins of his palace, or of seeing it swept away by an inundation of the river, which had risen to a most extraordinary height. As it was getting late, I wished him good night and withdrew. The storm was still raging with unabated fury; the lights in the open passages had all been extinguished—but I knew my way—and I was groping along in the dark towards the apartments of Halil Bey, occasionally drenched by the rain pouring through a hole in the roof, and knocking my feet against fallen tiles, when I calculated that I must have reached the staircase; suddenly my arms were seized on each side, and I was literally carried up the stairs and lifted along the passage into the rooms which I occupied, where I saw two stout Turks, who had performed this friendly office for me. It was friendly indeed, as I perceived the next morning, for a part of the roof had fallen through the floor of the corridor, leaving a trap door, through which I must have gone headlong, if Halil Bey had not stationed those two men to take care of me when I passed it.

## CHAPTER XI.

TURKISH OFFICERS—HUSSEIN PASHA—AUSTRIAN VICE-CONSUL—RUSSIAN  
INTRIGUES—METROPOLITAN BISHOP—DIVAN EFFENDI—POLYGAMY—GREEK  
SLAVE—ARABS—GIPSY ENCAMPMENT—AKTSHAR—LATE DISTURBANCES—  
BELGRADJIK—THE MUDIR—MARUF AGA AND THE ARAB—ISMAEL PASHA—  
THE SULTAN AND THE CZAR—RUSSIAN QUARANTINE AT CALAFAT—RETURN  
TO BUCHAREST.

ON the following morning I went to pay my respects to the Pasha, whom I found in a delightful *kiosque* overhanging the Danube, whose tranquil waters were flowing past in as unruffled a stream as if they had never been raised by a tempest. The day was fine, the only remains of the storm being a few clouds in the sky, and the ground moist and fresh, while the heat of the weather was very much diminished. The *kiosque* was open on three sides, and a long divan occupied the fourth, on which eight or nine field officers of the army were seated, being the suite of Mustapha Pasha, who had come to call on the Governor-general. Their European uniforms sat uncomfortably on their shapeless forms, but they were soldierly looking men, nevertheless; and several of them bore the reputation of being distinguished officers. Most of them had blue coats, but I remarked some that wore dark-brown, while the trowsers of every one seemed to be according to his



peculiar corps, most of them being of a pale fawn-colour, or violet, or very light blue. Those belonging to the cavalry wore braided surtouts, and fixed spurs on their patent leather half-boots, which were made so as to be taken off with ease at the door, leaving the Turkish slipper below them; and the rank of each in the military hierarchy was indicated by the *nichan*, or order composed of the star and crescent, which were suspended round their necks, being of brilliants among the superior officers, and of gold or even silver, when their wearers were majors or captains. The sword-belts of all of them were richly embroidered.

I told Zia Pasha of my wish to make a tour in the interior, and he answered that a trusty attendant, who knew the roads and villages, would be selected to accompany me, and that I had but to give my orders for horses to be prepared, or if I preferred I might go in a carriage. This latter offer astonished me, and on leaving him I went to see the coach-house, in which I found three handsome calèches, evidently of Vienna manufacture; and to tell the truth, I rather fancied a comfortable drive after my jolting vehicle of Wallachia. I therefore told Halil Bey, when he asked me how I wished to go, that, if it were not inconvenient, a carriage would be more agreeable than a horse after the fatigues of my recent journey; and he engaged to have everything ready for me at an early hour on the next day.

I went out to take a walk in the town, and the first object that attracted my attention was the tomb of Hussein Pasha at the principal mosque, which reminded me of a visit which was paid to him four years ago by

some near relatives of mine, who were on their way up the Danube. They saw the rich and powerful Pasha in all his splendour; and here he was now under a great stone, bedaubed all over with blue and gold, a twopenny-halfpenny gingerbread-looking gilded railing forming a dome over his head, and a couple of marigolds planted on each side of him. He died little more than a year ago the possessor of almost incalculable wealth, as he had enjoyed a monopoly of the trade of the province, but having done nothing for the improvement of the people committed to his charge, and leaving to his enlightened successor the seeds of rebellion sown among the Christians, and the fibres of reciprocal hatred deeply rooted in the hearts of both Christians and Turks. Hussein Pasha and Zia Pasha are two specimens of the old and the new systems: this was all that the former accomplished: the latter is not rich, he does not trade, he encourages the industry and enterprise of others instead of appropriating the field to himself, and he is so conciliating in his manner of dealing with the Bulgarians, and so determined with the Turks, that his continued administration cannot fail to correct the evils of the long reign of fifteen years which his predecessor enjoyed.

From the mosque I went to the port, where a great number of large boats were lying; and, seeing a board over a door, announcing that the steamboat office was within, I entered. The Agent of the Danube Company received me with great politeness, and, after some conversation on the days of sailing, he treated me to a narration of the late insurrection, with all its circum-

stances ; but his hostility to the Turks was so evident in everything he said that I could not hear it without considerable distrust. I listened to all he had to say on the subject, however, as I had done when the Pasha and the Italian doctor spoke to me about it, but I suspended my judgment until I should have heard what the peasants themselves could tell me. This steamboat Agent is also the Vice-Consul of Austria. Russia has her secret emissaries ; but England has no one to watch the intrigues of these two powers in this quarter which is so important to Turkey, and consequently interesting to Great Britain. A mistaken system of economy may sometimes prove prejudicial to the general policy of a cabinet which thus deprives itself, from most laudable motives, no doubt, of information which might guide it in critical circumstances. Here was an insurrection, for instance, which Russia and Austria made much of, and England possesses no means of gaining accurate intelligence about it. All the trade of Upper Bulgaria comes to Widin, Ionian subjects are much engaged in it, as well as in the general navigation of the Danube, for which this town is one of the principal stations, and, for want of a British consular flag to protect them, they seek patronage from Austria ; and not only do these evils arise from the wish to save a few hundreds per annum, but the general tendency of one of the richest and most influential provinces in European Turkey is consequently ignored by our government, which should know it, and guide it also ; for I am free to say that in Downing Street there is not the most remote idea of the existence of a comprehensive establishment for the Russianizing of Bulgaria, and yet the Foreign Office can



well appreciate the great importance of such a fact. It is by education that this deep-laid scheme is in a course of active execution : no less than twenty-one schools have been instituted of late in the different towns for this purpose ; the teachers have all come from Kiew, in Russia. Hatred to the Sultan and attachment to the Czar, are assiduously taught ; and their catechism in the Slavonian tongue, which was translated to me, is more political than religious, while it openly alludes to the incorporation of Bulgaria in the Russian empire. Besides this, the *propaganda* of the Pan Slavonian Hetairia, and the agency of other political interests opposed to those of Turkey, are efficiently represented by skilful apostles in Bulgaria.

I had not gone far from the house of the Austrian Vice-Consul, when I heard some one hailing me in Italian from a window, and, on looking up, I descried my friend the Doctor, who pressinglly invited me to smoke a pipe with him. I willingly agreed, and we had another long discussion on the circumstances of the revolution, as he called it. His account was less prejudiced than that of the Austrian agent, but more poetical ; not so malignant, but a great deal more horrible. I listened to everything with patience, being aware that I should soon know more about it than either of them, as their sources of information were confined to Widin, whereas I should gather notions, as the Americans say, on the spot where the events occurred.

When I was passing through the bazaar on my way to the *konak*, I saw the gallant grey with his costly trappings in the hands of the Pasha's groom.

"Now you see, Sir," said Pietro, "that it is well to



give the Turks a high opinion of your rank. Here they have brought you a horse to ride home."

"But they seem to have a lower opinion of yours, Pietro, than they had yesterday, for I see only one horse;" I replied, to tease him, as I did not share in his mistake, for I had discovered the Pasha himself sitting in one of the booths on the opposite side of the street making purchases, and enjoying his *narguilé* at the same time. Pietro was much crest-fallen, but when he saw me take off my hat to the Pasha, as I passed, he said to me exultingly:

"Thank Heaven, the horse was not for you!"

The Pasha made a sign to me, putting two fingers of one hand astride on one of the other, and looking the question why I was not on horseback; I responded by pointing to my feet, and closing my fingers in an upright position, which, in the telegraphic language of Oriental gesticulation, signified that they were good. He laughed loud and long; and we proceeded homewards.

On reaching the *konak*, I found the Metropolitan Bishop there. He was a Greek of Constantinople, a middle-aged man with a flowing beard, portly withal, and seeming to have eschewed none of the good things of this world, if he had any of the evil. Our conversation naturally turned on the late events, which he described altogether differently from my previous informants, the Pasha, the Austrian Vice-Consul, and the Italian Doctor, all of whom had represented them according to his especial views. I suspected that, of the four versions, that of the Turk was the most correct, but I still reserved my opinions for further elucidation. The Bishop said

much against the Turkish government, and I consequently supposed, he was all on the side of the Christians, but I was mistaken; for when I questioned him about the Bulgarian peasantry, he was as violent in his abuse of them as he had been lavish in his vituperation of the Turks. He affected great piety in his manner, which might be sincere, but it was strangely at variance with what I had been told of his mode of living.

A servant announced that the Pasha had returned, and would be glad to see us. We went to him. As soon as we were seated, he sent for Pietro to interpret, but the Bishop offered his services, being probably afraid lest I should repeat what he had said to me. Again the subject of the disturbances was broached, and the Pasha spoke at great length in Turkish to the Bishop, who turned to me when he had concluded, and explained in Greek that the peasants had come to him in a body, before the revolt, to request him to lay their grievances before the Pasha; that he had done so, but that the Pasha had not thought fit to take them into consideration. This astonished me, but I said nothing. The incidents of the outbreak were then described in detail, and it appeared, as interpreted to me, like a confession on the part of the Pasha, that it had all been owing to his own severity and want of judgment, and quite contradictory to what he had previously told me. I then understood that no reliance could be placed on my very reverend dragoman, and, being tired of playing at cross purposes, I rose to take leave. The Pasha took me by the arm most kindly, and made me sit down again. He then said something to the Bishop, who in his turn took

leave in the most humble manner, and left us together. The Pasha immediately sent for Pietro, and begged me to tell him what the Bishop had told me. I had no wish to play this part, and escaped by asking him to tell me what he had told his reverence to interpret. He did so, and I was soon convinced of the duplicity of the latter, but for many reasons I was anxious to avoid exposing it, and I might have succeeded in this, if I had not unfortunately adverted to the appeal for justice made to the Pasha by the peasants through the Bishop. He peremptorily denied that the Bishop had ever acted as mediator between the peasantry and himself, or brought him any communication whatsoever from them, but he had been told that the villagers had gone to the Bishop for that purpose. It was now pretty clear that the Greek prelate had acted throughout as an agent of Russia, in preventing what might have brought about an amicable understanding between the Governor-general and the population of his province, but it was no business of mine to meddle with their differences, and I took the first opportunity of withdrawing.

Some time after I had returned to my rooms, I received an invitation to dine with the Divan Effendi, who told me that the Pasha would not leave his *harem*, as he did not feel well. I also learnt that he had never had more than one wife; that he had three daughters and one son, Tefik Bey, a fine boy of seven years old, whom I saw frequently; and that Zia Pasha was exceedingly fond of a domestic life, and stayed with his family as much as possible. I heard afterwards that the Divan Effendi was also married, and lived in the same way;



and that there was but one Turk of respectability at Widin who had more than one wife. Is not this fact of the quiet, sensible, and respectable married life of a number of their principal personages, a proof that the Turks are no longer what they once were ?

Besides the Divan Effendi, there was a pale young man of mild and gentlemanly manners at table with myself and the persevering Pietro. He was the bearer of the great seal of the Pashalik, and he aided the Divan Effendi in the Secretary's office, where Halil Bey was also frequently a voluntary assistant. Each of those three young men expressed to me more than once their determination to learn French, and their hope that they might one day visit the great capitals of Europe as *attachés*, or secretaries, to Turkish ambassadors. Their conversation was quite that of well-informed persons of other countries. They put many questions with regard to England, but there was none of that stupid wonder which uneducated people display; if they learnt what they did not know, it was at least perfectly comprehensible to them; and they seemed to appreciate with enthusiasm what was good, and to censure with judgment what was reprehensible in all that they heard.

I sat for some time alone after dinner in Halil Bey's room at the open window, enjoying the cool night air before going to bed. The *Muezzin* was singing his nocturnal orisons from a neighbouring minaret, and his fine clear voice resounded far over the still surface of the river. Beneath, the spacious court-yard was deserted, and the great flaming torch of tar and turpentine, on



a lance of iron stuck in the ground, hardly scared the gaunt and famished-looking dogs which prowled about ; while the white storks appeared dimly as they flapped their wings on their lofty nests, generally placed by them on chimneys. I heard some one moving in the room, and supposing it to be Pietro, I did not turn round. After at least half-an-hour, I chanced to look into the room, and in the dim light from the torch, for I had extinguished the candles, I perceived a slight figure standing near the door. I asked who was there ; and the figure advanced in an attitude of submissive respect. It was the Greek slave. He begged me to excuse him, and he said he had been seeking an opportunity for the last two days to speak with me, as it was so rare a satisfaction for him to hear the sound of his mother-tongue, which he had himself almost forgotten. I asked him to tell me his history, which he did. He was a native of the island of Scio, the ancient Chios, and he was five years old when the massacre of the Christian inhabitants by the Turks took place in 1825. He recollected perfectly seeing his father and mother and his old grandmother put to death. Their house, which still appeared to him to have been very large, was burnt to the ground, and he, with his two sisters, younger than himself, was carried to a boat. After that, he remembered being in a hamper slung on the back of a horse, and there were two other children in it, but they were not his sisters. There were a great many horses with hampers full of children, and he thought they must have gone a long journey, for loaves of bread were often thrown to them, but no other care

was taken of them. Then he was at Constantinople, and he was sold. He never heard more of his sisters. His master was kind to him, but he soon died, and, as he had no heirs, his slaves became the property of the Sultan. He was then put on board a gun-boat, to learn to be a sailor, and he passed a wretched life for many years, constantly beaten and very scantily fed. At last a captain of a ship took him to live with him on shore, and he passed from one master to another, for several years, but he did not know how he had ceased to belong to the Sultan. I explained to him the new law, which he seemed never to have heard of, although it concerned him and his class of subjects particularly. He said he was happy now with Zia Pasha, who was a good master, just and paternal towards his inferiors, and never harsh to any one. He had often thought of asking leave to return to Scio, but he was now a Mussulman, and he feared he might be ill received, as he had no wish to change his faith. And then there was little chance of his finding his sisters there, and he believed he had no other relatives. With regard to his property, if he had any, it would not be easy to recover it, and he was in want of nothing in Zia Pasha's service, which he hoped never to leave as long as he lived.

He left me with an emphatic, "*Allah kerim!*" or "God is great!" and I retired to rest.

I was up early, and ready to start on my excursion. Halil Bey brought me a letter, which the Pasha begged me to deliver to Ismael Pasha at Belgradjik, whither he had gone to take the command two days before—and he wished me a safe and prosperous journey. I descended

to the court-yard; a carriage was prepared for me, true enough, but it was not one of the three calèches, and I understood the reason why, when I was crossing some of the hills, for such roads were never seen. This vehicle, or *araba*, was admirably adapted for the service required of it; the forewheels were as high as the hind ones, and, although they could not traverse under the body of the carriage, their size greatly facilitated the going up-hill, and prevented the danger of falling between two stones, which they rolled over as easily as might be: it was painted with stars and crescents in the most quaint fashion, and looked more like the cart of an itinerant quack than the travelling carriage of the great Pasha. Two stout horses pulled it; three mounted and well-armed attendants surrounded it; in we got; and off we set.

For about an hour we drove at a slow trot over a green plain, which stretches back from Widin to the mountains. A vast gipsy camp occupied a part of it, near the town, and I think there must have been at least a thousand of them, but we could not stop to make a closer acquaintance. We reached the village of Widdol, after crossing several good bridges over the marshy ground which is frequently inundated by the Danube, and we stayed there a few minutes. In one of the cottages, which are infinitely better than those of Wallachia, I found two poor children lying ill of fever and ague; their parents did nothing to relieve them, but, when I explained how easy was the cure, they resolved on taking them to Widin for medical assistance. We soon commenced the ascent of the mountains, and we continued travelling slowly over hill and dale, through



wooded ravines, and among fields of maize, for several hours, until we arrived at Aktshar. This was a considerable place, with good houses, built on the banks of a small stream, which divided the Turkish from the Christian population; and on the heights appeared field fortifications, with a few guns placed on misshapen bastions. We were to sleep here; but the *Chur-bashi*, or head of the village, being absent, we went to the Khan, and there I passed a sleepless night in the practical study of the natural history of various species of insects of prey.

The break of day found me lying in the Pasha's painted carriage, where I had entrenched myself against the enemy. The first thing I saw on opening my weary eyes was a table covered with dainty dishes, which the *Chur-bashi* had sent for my use, with a thousand apologies for not having been at home on the previous evening to receive me. I partook sparingly of his hospitality, considering that I was not much accustomed to dining at four o'clock in the morning, but my Turkish soldiers had no such inveterate habits, and they soon cleared the table which I had placed at their disposal. Hadji Bakir, the *Chur-bashi*, soon appeared, and he pressed me much to stay a day with him, or at least to dine again at noon and travel in the evening, but I had seen enough of Aktshar, and was determined to resume my journey as soon as possible. I could only silence his hospitable solicitations by telling him I would assure the Pasha that he had treated me in the most profuse manner on his return, and with this he was satisfied, as it is evident I had hit the right nail on the head. This being satis-



factorily arranged, I walked out to seek for information on the subject of the late disorders, and, on crossing the stream by a small wooden bridge, and following the road by which we had arrived on the previous evening, I came to the centre of the Christian quarter, where I found a large coffee-house, in which the peasants were assembling before proceeding to their day's work. I entered with Pietro, and called for coffee. A circle soon gathered round the strangers, and I found no difficulty in establishing a general conversation about the events that had recently occurred in the vicinity, and of which most of my interlocutors had been eye-witnesses. When I had heard their account of them, I went to the Mussulman quarter, and there I made a similar attempt with equal success. All the facts, as related by both parties, whose information strictly coincided, corroborated that which I had received from Zia Pasha, and completely refuted the allegations of the Bishop, the Austrian Vice-Consul, and the Italian Doctor, whose details of the matter were equally distant from the truth, and inconsistent with each other. The facts were as follows.

Foreign emissaries and Greek priests perambulated the country, for some time, explaining to the Christian peasantry the wrongs, real or fictitious, which they suffered at the hands of the speculators who farmed the land revenues. They were assiduously urged to take up arms in their own defence, and the hope of obtaining assistance from abroad was constantly held out to them. The Bulgarians, thus instigated, assembled on various points to consult as to what they should do, and they unanimously agreed not to endeavour to seek redress by

violence, but to present petitions to the Governor-general against the malpractices of the tithe-farmers and collectors of the tax on sheep, who, as would appear, had committed acts of injustice and oppression. Deputations were consequently sent to their Bishop, entreating him to intercede for them with the Pasha. After some days, he returned the answer, that the Pasha would not listen to any such complaint. This exasperated the villagers, and they were further incited to revolt by the active agents of the intrigue. They again consulted together, and again they rejected the counsel offered; but they decided on going to Widin in large bodies, to lay their grievances before the Pasha himself; and, as a proof that they entertained no hostile intentions, it was resolved that they should all go unarmed.

The movement commenced, and the efforts of the instigators were immediately directed towards the Mahometan population, whose indignation was artfully roused by representing the gathering of the peasants round the town as an insult to the Sultan, and an incipient rebellion against his authority. The Christians were then informed that it was the intention of the Pasha to fire upon them from the ramparts as soon as they should come within shot. They hesitated whether they should proceed or return; the alarm was spread among them that the garrison of Widin was marching to attack them; several Turks, who were passing quietly along the roads, were immediately disarmed, in order that they might obtain the means of defending themselves; and resistance being in some instances offered by these, a few lives were lost. When this was

reported to the Pasha, he sent officers to inquire into the motives of such conduct on the part of the villagers, and to endeavour to persuade them to return to their villages. Some of the *zaptieh*, or country police, were taken by these officers for their own security, and, had these irregular troops not been tampered with, the whole affair would probably have been amicably settled ; but the deep-laid plan was fully done justice to.

The officer, who was thus delegated to the inhabitants of Lom Palanka, Aktshar, and the surrounding villages, was a certain Maruf Aga of the irregular force, still unfortunately employed in some of the Pashaliks ; and when he appeared with his followers before the peasants, he called out to them to explain their wishes. Amongst the band which he commanded, murmurs arose at this tone of conciliation ; and one of them, by name Sherif Effendi, whose dark complexion had given him the surname of the Arab, and who had been a retainer of the late Hussein Pasha and a partisan of the old system, called upon them to fall on the Christians while he struck the first blow himself. Maruf Aga in vain strove to retain them, the impulse had been given, and their violence could no longer be controlled. Twenty-five peasants were killed, almost without offering any resistance, and the remainder escaped to the mountains. At Widin I was told by every one, except the Pasha, that the number put to death on this occasion amounted to a hundred and fifty. Thirty peasants were overtaken by the *zaptieh* during a long pursuit on the hills, and also lost their lives ; the Austrian Vice-Consul assured me that two hundred had been butchered in their flight.



I determined on following the track of Maruf Aga's band, which did not, in all, at any time exceed eighty-five men; and I directed the driver to take the road leading to the inland town of Belgradjik, where the greatest atrocities were said to have been committed by them. We crossed several hills and deep valleys, well cultivated, although the crops had suffered by the absence of the peasants from their villages at the time when the Indian corn required weeding; and we stopped at Maladernoftz and Isvor, the former a small hamlet and the latter a considerable place, but neither of them having been abandoned by their inhabitants, and only one man having been killed there on the passage of the irregular troops, when they saw him in a field with a gun, which he had taken for self-defence.

Another steep ascent brought us to the summit of a ridge of rocks, from which Belgradjik was visible, with its fortress under a lofty cliff, and its white houses and minarets clustering around it. A long descent led us into the town, on the outskirts of which was the bivouac of two squadrons of regular dragoons, with their horses picketed in rows, as they had recently been sent here for the purpose of patrolling the country. I was taken to the house of the *Mudir*, or Mayor, who received me with the utmost courtesy. He was an elderly man, dressed in the old Turkish costume, stout, jovial, and good-humoured; and so thoroughly conversant with the duties and attentions of hospitality, that he had a bath ready for me on my arrival, and dinner only waiting till I should feel disposed to eat it; and that was with the shortest possible delay, with more than the usual appetite



of travellers who move along roads well garnished with hostelryes, and with as much indifference on the subject of knives and forks, as our ancestors had some three hundred years ago, before these fastidious refinements had been introduced, even in England or France, beyond the massive trenchant-blade that sliced the sirloin. After dinner, the *Mudir* gave me his version of the disturbances; but as I wished to form my opinion on the evidence of persons altogether unconnected with the government, and belonging both to the Christian and the Mahometan classes of the population, I deferred more particular inquiries until the next morning, and allowed the conversation to take another turn. My kind host put many questions about England, and, among others, he asked me if my countrymen ever laid grievances, or made petitions in a body on the subject of their taxes? I said that such incidents often occurred.

“And how many people unite for this purpose?” he asked.

“Petitions have sometimes been presented by many hundreds of thousands,” I replied.

“Hundreds of thousands!” he exclaimed. “And what number of troops does your *kralitza*\* send out to greet them?”

“None at all.”

“Impossible! You are jesting.”

“Not in the least,” said I: “a few policemen are sent to keep order in the streets.”

“*Chok shei!*”† he exclaimed, much astonished; “and how are they armed?”

\* *Queen*, in the Bulgarian and other Slavonic dialects.

† *Much thing*, in Turkish.

“ They carry nothing but little sticks not a foot long.”

“ *Chok shei!* And are they not killed?”

“ Not a hair of their heads is hurt.”

“ *Pek chok shei!*”\*

We conversed thus until a late hour, and then the *Mudir* left me to sleep on the sofa which we had been sitting on; but it was soon converted, by a black slave, into a most comfortable bed, by the addition of sheets of a fine sort of silk gauze, and a counterpane of brocade wadded with cotton, and embroidered with gold; while the pillow was covered with muslin, with flowers worked in coloured silks round the edges.

I went out early with Pietro on a voyage of discovery, entering into conversation with almost every one we met in the streets. A woman, standing at the door of a humble dwelling, told us, as every one else, both Mussulman and Christian, had done, that the number of persons killed at Belgradjik was twelve, instead of 200, as I had been told at Widin; and this exaggeration was the more flagrant, inasmuch as I ascertained that there never were more than forty-five Christian families in this small town; and it would, therefore, be impossible that four or five members of each, if so many existed, should have been put to death. It is true, that the Austrian Vice-Consul, and the Italian Doctor, talked much of the women and children who had been massacred at Belgradjik; but I soon proved that such a statement was altogether false, although two had been wounded. The woman with whom I then conversed, said that she and her family had been the greatest sufferers in the place; and I went into her house to hear the particulars. As soon as I was

\* *Very much thing.*

seated on a low stool in the almost empty room, it became crowded with the neighbours—men, women, and children—who came to see what the stranger wanted; and I took the advantage of the opportunity to get them to talk of what had occurred in their town three weeks previously; their account of it being precisely the same as that which I had heard that morning from many others of both religious persuasions.

It appears, that when the band of Maruf Aga gave up the pursuit of the inhabitants of the eastern districts, they proceeded by the road over which I had just travelled to Belgradjik, where it was currently reported that a battle had taken place between the peasantry of the surrounding villages and the Turkish garrison of the fort, and that the latter had been finally taken by storm. On approaching, Maruf Aga found a great number of peasants on the heights near the town, uncertain whether they should continue their journey to Widin or return to their villages, and the garrison of the fort keeping within its walls; not a shot had been fired on either side, and the Christian inhabitants of the town remained altogether indifferent, as they were principally shopkeepers, and did not suffer like the cultivators from the vexations of the tax-collectors.

The villagers immediately dispersed when the *zaptiekh* appeared on the ridge which I had crossed; the latter entered the town, and were well received by the Christian inhabitants, who had no idea of any hostile intention towards them. Maruf Aga, who had now become as bloodthirsty as the Arab, commenced firing upon them; and when they took to flight, all those who were over-



taken before they could reach their houses were cut down. Twelve Christians were thus killed, and four of the *zaptieh* were shot from the windows, by people who had guns, and used them without scruple when they saw what was passing in the streets. The shops were then plundered of property worth 600,000 piastres, and many houses were also rifled of every object of value possessed by the inmates. Maruf Aga went to the fort, stationed a part of his band there, and sent the remainder, under the command of the Arab, to pursue the villagers, who belonged exclusively to the villages of Ghirza, Racovitza, Bercovza, and Calla.

The woman then told her own story. Her husband was one of the richest citizens of Belgradjik, a tobaccoist; and when the commandant of the local force saw the villagers on the heights near the town, he sent for him, together with six others of the principal shopkeepers, to inquire into the motives of this movement. They knew nothing about it, and could give him no information. He then kept them as hostages in the fort, and informed the Christian population that they would be put to death on the first symptom of anything like a revolt on their part. During several days their children were allowed to take food to them, and they saw their fathers with chains on their hands and feet; but after the arrival of Maruf Aga, they were refused admittance; and nothing had ever been heard of them since.

This reminded me that Zia Pasha had requested me to endeavour to procure some information for him, regarding the fate of seven of the most respectable Christians of Belgradjik who were missing, as he suspected



that they had taken refuge in Serbia, to save their money and valuables, and he thought their families might give me some clue to find out the truth, although they had refused to inform the Turkish authorities. I therefore questioned the others who were present, and they all corroborated the woman's account of the affair, several of them being near relatives of the other hostages.

She further stated, that her eldest son, a young man of twenty, happened to be at the door of his house about an hour after the arrival of the *zaptieh*, and that one of them, who was riding along the street, told him he would be his guest. The Bulgarian said he was welcome, and held his horse while he dismounted. The soldier drew a pistol from his girdle as they were entering the house together, and shot the young man through the head. I was taken to see the blood on the threshold, as they would not have the marks washed out until justice should be done. The ruffian then drew his *yataghan*, and attacked a little boy of ten years of age, who was her youngest child; and he was brought to me that I might see a long cut on his head, which was nearly healed; his life had been saved by the thick *fez* he wore, which I saw cut in two, thus deadening the force of the blow. The mother of the tobacconist, an old woman of seventy, showed me a stab she had received in the neck from the same *yataghan*. The *zaptieh* then took everything of value in the house, and left it.

After hearing these tragic details, which made me regret more than ever that the Turkish government should not have completed the reform of their army by organizing also a regular police force—for the soldiers of

the *Nizam*, or disciplined troops, were everywhere commended to me for their orderly conduct, while the *zap-tieh*, or irregular constabulary, were talked of with terror and hatred—I took leave of the assembled Bulgarians. At the door I found a nice little horse, with a handsome saddle, which the *Mudir* had sent after me; and this time Pietro was obliged to walk in the mud, for it had rained in the night. I took an unworthy pleasure in keeping my horse at a quick amble, and in often looking round at the fat old figure labouring through the mire, with an expression of indignant humility on his ugly face.

I went to call on Ismael Pasha, who said he was delighted to see me; he had arrived a few days before me, and he gave me a graphic description of his ride through the storm, which Zia Pasha and I had sat out in the *konak* at Widin. The gallant Major-General, horse and all, had nearly been carried off one of the bridges on the plain by a rush of water, which rose a couple of feet above it, as he said. He told me all the arrangements he had made for patrolling the country, which were according to the custom and practice of European armies, and he added that his men were received by the peasants with the greatest kindness and confidence. An hour after I left him, Ismael Pasha returned my visit. A sketch of the town and its fanciful screen of rocks, detained me another half hour; a delicious breakfast at the *Mudir's*, of which a dish of clotted cream, made from buffaloes' milk, formed the *pièce de résistance* for me. I packed myself up in my painted toy of a waggon, which was just like those that English children particularly

affect on New Year's-day, only a little larger, and with Pietro, still grumbling when his muddy boots recalled the bitter memory of his morning walk, I left Belgradjik.

We had not gone above a mile in a westerly direction, when we perceived four Bulgarians crossing a hillock, and coming to meet us. We pulled up, and they accosted us. One of them was a priest of most respectable appearance; another was the son of one of the seven shopkeepers, who had been kept in the fort as hostages; and the latter commenced by saying that he had brought two peasants to me, who, as he had been informed by the priest, could throw some light on the fate of his father and his six companions, but that they had been afraid to give evidence of what they knew in public. I asked them if they would give me now any information they might possess on the subject, and they readily consented.

They said that on the day of Maruf Aga's arrival at Belgradjik, they had happened to be among the trees on the hill near the gate of the fort, and that, hearing shots fired in the town, they had remained there to keep out of danger. They saw Maruf Aga and the Arab enter the fort with their followers after the massacre, and they hid themselves behind some bushes. In about an hour the seven prisoners, whom they were near enough to recognise perfectly, were led out of the gate with their arms pinioned; they were bound with their girdles to some plum-trees, which were now pointed out to me from the road where we were; and then they were all stabbed to death by the *zaptieh*, who afterwards threw their bodies among the bushes, when they had cut off three of the heads, which were carried towards Widin by several of the



*zaptieh* on horseback. One of the witnesses said that the Pasha had given a *bakshish*, or present, of 2,000 piastres to the bearers of the three heads ; but the other interrupted him, saying that he could not know that, and that they should relate only what they had seen themselves. The same Bulgarian said that he had gone to the spot with another, a few days afterwards, and had found a number of dogs devouring the bodies. I inquired if the bones could still be seen, with the purpose of returning and going there myself ; but the priest told me that he had gone lately, when he heard the story from my informants, and that no vestiges of them remained. The alleged *bakshish* of 2,000 piastres was too inconsistent with the general character of Zia Pasha to be believed, without better evidence, which could not easily be obtained, even if it were a fact ; and what motive could he have had in drawing my attention to the case, if he knew how it had terminated ? The remainder of the narration, however, bore every appearance of truth, and it was the most likely result that could arise from the detention of the hostages, for Maruf Aga and the Arab were not men who would be disposed to spare them.

We continued our journey through a most beautifully diversified country, with wood and cultivation succeeding each other—hills and valleys winding about, and streams, swollen by the rain, rushing onwards to the Danube. I was anxious to reach Widin that night, and I did not stop at the villages of Racovitza, Bercovza, Ghirza, and Calla ; but I made ample inquiries of the villagers concerning the loss of life on the hills after the affair of Belgradjik ; and it was proved, to my complete satis-



faction, that not more than seventy Christians had been killed, although the number was called 900 at Widin. Eleven Mahometans were also put to death on that occasion, and nine were still missing without anything certain being known of their fate, although it appeared probable that they had been disarmed by the peasants, and, fearing a general revolt against the Turks, they had crossed the Serbian frontier.

Such were the facts of this species of insurrection, so different in their causes, in their details, and in their results, from the reports which were spread on the subject; and they prove exactly the contrary of what it was intended that they should demonstrate, for the modern system of the Ottoman government was here triumphant. The irregular troops employed were Mahometans of the Bulgarian or Slavonic race, while the Pasha and his immediate subordinates are Turks from Constantinople; and there is a wide distinction to be made between these two classes, although they seem to have been most grossly confounded in all the accounts of the recent events which have hitherto reached other quarters.

Instead of attributing this insurrectionary movement to the oppressive administration and unfeeling conduct of the Turkish government, as some have done, it would be more near the truth, if the whole blame were laid at the door of those foreign powers which suggested and encouraged it, threw obstacles in the way of its prompt and satisfactory conclusion, and then exaggerated its results to make them serve their own subtle purposes.

They attempted to conceal its real origin by misrepre-

senting it to be a general disaffection of the Bulgarians towards the Ottoman government, and they propagated the false notion that the Turkish yoke was about to be thrown off by Bulgaria, and that a native Hospodar would be appointed as in the Danubian Principalities; exciting thus the national pride and religious fanaticism of the Mussulman population, and cheering them on in secret to give no quarter to the Christians.

In this designing assimilation of the state of Bulgaria to that of Wallachia, a strong fact was lost sight of, which is, that the population of the latter is exclusively Christian, with the sole exception of the Jews, while no less than a million-and-a-half of the Sclavonian inhabitants of the former are Mahometans. The immediate responsibility for the bloodshed which has taken place rests, however, with Maruf Aga, Sherif Effendi, and their followers; and Zia Pasha is unjustly accused by those who have spread the reports current on the subject, for it can hardly be credited that his orders to them were dictated by a totally different spirit from that in which he imparted his instructions to many others who were acting in the same affair. All the officers employed by him, with the exception of these two, behaved with great moderation; the local authorities of Lom Palanka and Belgradjik were immediately replaced by others who enjoyed his confidence, and their conduct has proved that they deserved it.

The excitement of the Turkish population at Widin was kept in check by the measures executed under his own personal direction; and delegates were sent by him to the villages, to calm the irritation of the Bulgarians

and dispel their fears. In all these cases the results were perfectly satisfactory : it cannot, therefore, be fair to hold him responsible for the misdeeds of two among his many agents, who were acting independently, and at a distance from him. It was, doubtless, unfortunate that the Pasha should have been obliged to employ the irregular troops at all, but he had only 800 men of the regular army then at his disposal, and it would have been exceedingly imprudent, under such circumstances, to weaken the garrison of Widin ; indeed, it was well that he did not detach any of them, because it was owing to their active exertions, under his instructions, in guarding the streets and places of public resort, that a general massacre of the Bulgarians by the Turkish populace did not take place there, so violent was the irritation which had been raised among the latter by the designing insinuations of foreign agents.

The reinforcements opportunely sent from Wallachia by the Ottoman Commissioner, and their skilful distribution in the disturbed districts, together with the efficient services of those entrusted with the difficult task of bringing the deluded peasants to a just sense of the state of matters, and especially the conduct of Yusuf Bey, a distinguished colonel in the regular army,—to whom Ahmed Vefyk Effendi had confided the delicate mission of inducing some of the insurgents to accompany him to the town of Widin, for the purpose of proving the falsehood of the statements made to them, that they would be put to death by the Turkish authorities,—soon effected the complete pacification of the province. Patrols of regular dragoons cover the country,



and regiments of infantry are stationed in suitable positions ; the villagers regard them as their protectors, and entertain the most friendly feeling towards them ; but it could not well be otherwise, considering how the Turkish army is now organized, disciplined, and commanded ; and it is much to be regretted, that a regular corps of *gendarmarie* should not also have been formed, as these deplorable events could not in that case have occurred.

The alleged revolution is thus concluded, and the attitude of the Turkish government is really worthy of remark, not only as offering a striking contrast to the conduct of those powers which have endeavoured to embroil its affairs, but also as furnishing a profitable lesson of forbearance and tact to other cabinets of Europe, which have been similarly situated, and have acted differently. Here there are neither executions nor even arrests, and the only persons prosecuted are those who were employed by the government ; provisions are supplied to the families of the victims, among the supposed enemies of the Sultan, and steps are being taken for the purpose of restoring their plundered property. The insurgents are informed, that, if they have any grievances or complaints to lay before the government, they will be listened to with attention, and promptly taken into consideration ; and a deputation of five being selected from among them, every facility is afforded by the Pasha for their immediately proceeding to Constantinople, with the view of explaining their position and conduct.

Such is the modern system of Turkey, and such the ancient policy of Russia ; let justice be done between them, a meed of praise awarded where it is due, and



condemnation passed on those whom the facts convict. The moderation of the Turkish government under these harassing circumstances, the absence of all revengeful feelings after them, and the perfect impartiality displayed in the manner of treating the two classes of subjects in collision, make it a matter of merited congratulation that its issue should be so favourable; while the Austro-Russian intrigue, which has not even obtained the sanction of success, as many bad actions have, and which has failed partly because it was an anachronism, and partly because Turkey cannot now be shorn of her provinces by such manœuvres as she was formerly, has procured for its authors nothing else than the ridicule of enlightened politicians by its failure, and the abhorrence of all upright minds by its detection.

On my arrival at Widin, I told Zia Pasha the result of my inquiries, and I especially brought under his notice the case of the seven hostages at Belgradjik. He expressed great indignation against Maruf Aga, and Sherif Effendi the Arab, whose trial he ordered; and he directed that a regular supply of food should be provided by the local authorities for all the families of the victims, until steps could be taken for restoring to them everything that had been plundered.

After another night at the *konak*, I took leave of my kind hosts, and embarked in the boat of the guard-ship, which had been prepared for me, to cross the river to Calafat. Here I was received by the Director of the Quarantine establishment, and consigned to a room in the Lazaretto for four days; but we could not even enter this little prison without undergoing the barbarous

process of the *spoglio*, which consists in leaving the suspected wardrobe in the hands of the gaolers to be aired, while other more innocent clothing is provided by them. Pietro looked imposing in a large-patterned chintz dressing-gown.

In conversing with the Director, I remarked that I supposed he had not often much to do.

"On the contrary," he replied; "although we have not many passengers, the trouble of examining minutely into the circumstances of them, and of reading all the letters that cross the Danube, in order to send a detailed report to Bucharest, keeps me constantly occupied."

This was letting the cat out of the bag with a vengeance, for the Russian quarantine system on the Danube has no other object than that which the simple-minded official at Calafat confessed to be his chief occupation. This fact suffices to convey an adequate notion of the unwarrantable manner in which power is here assumed by Russia. A sanitary *cordon* was established along the left bank of the Danube, and, by the Treaty of Adrianople, Russia acquired the right of co-operation to a certain extent in its organization; but that right is now exercised in a manner which withdraws it from all control of the local government, and converts it into a series of police offices, with prisons attached to them for the greater facilitation of their operations; which operations, though admirably conducted as a system of political *espionnage* and *surveillance*, are in some respects totally at variance with the generally received principles of quarantine establishments. Thus, persons arriving in the country from the right bank of the river, or by the

Black Sea, from the south, are detained for four days in close confinement—nominally to perform a quarantine which is no longer necessary, and which has been abolished even by Austria, but virtually for the purpose of undergoing the most searching scrutiny; all the papers they may have about them are examined under the pretext of fumigation, notwithstanding that these papers perform quarantine with their owners; and every letter that enters the principalities through their ports is opened and read by the directors of the lazarettos, in order that their contents, when important, may be transmitted, not to the native official authorities, nor to the Wallachian or Moldavian princes, nor to the Commissioner of the Sovereign, but to the Russian agents. This is tolerated, although it is not sanctioned by any legal claim to such undue interference and control; and the princes seem to consider themselves as obliged to connive at it, as well as at many other encroachments on the part of Russia, who takes this novel view of the legitimate mode of guaranteeing treaties.

On one of my four days of durance vile at Calafat, I heard the guns from the ramparts of Widin announce the feast of the Bairam, and I thought of young Halil Bey, whose marriage was then to be solemnized. Even this circumstance, apparently unimportant as it might be in a sanitary point of view, was carefully represented by the Director of the Lazaretto to his Russian chief at Bucharest, and he told me also that he had forwarded a full account of my proceedings in Bulgaria, which had been regularly communicated to him by the Austrian Vice-Consul at Widin.

My travelling cart with six post-horses took myself and Pietro from the gate of the Lazaretto as soon as we had fulfilled our term of political purgation, and rattled us to Bucharest in thirty hours without stopping, by the same road which we had followed three weeks before. Neither accident nor incident of any kind, worthy of record, occurred on the way.



## CHAPTER XII.

PRINCE STIRBEY—POLITICAL POSITION OF WALLACHIA.

HIS Highness the Hospodar must have an efficient personal police, for I had not been four-and-twenty hours at Bucharest, on my return from Bulgaria, before an invitation to dine with him reached me, and, as I had been indulging in an uninterrupted reaction of laziness after the violent activity of my race across the plain from Calafat, I supposed that the arrival of so obscure and humble an individual could not yet be known to any one. When I went to his country residence at the appointed hour, I found neither aides-de-camp nor orderly officers, as on the previous occasion, but I was shown into a room by a servant, where I found the Prince alone. He asked me a good deal about Bulgaria, and then led the way into the next room, in which a small table was laid, no bigger than a card-table, with only two covers prepared.

“This is my habit,” he said, “when I can avoid the tiresome state dinners which I am obliged to give, and when I can allow myself the enjoyment of a quiet *causerie*.”

Of course I was much flattered, but I thought it very odd, and I could not help wondering what the great

man could possibly want with me. Our dinner was most exquisite: truffles from Paris, oysters from Constantinople, and a pheasant from Vienna, all brought fresh by special couriers; and wines in perfection; hock of Prince Metternich's best vintage, claret warmed, and champagne not over iced; in short, everything was quite as it should be. We talked of England, free trade and protection, Jewish disabilities, and ecclesiastical titles; we canvassed French pacific democrats and red republicans, and we analysed German Philosophy and rationalism. Then the Prince gave his servants a look; they disappeared, and he proposed that I should help myself to another glass of burgundy. What on earth could he want with me?

"I presume you will follow the example of most of your countrymen who travel beyond the beaten track of tourists," he said, at last; "and we may expect soon to see a publication on the subject of the countries you visit."

I replied that nothing could be more probable; and he expressed a kind hope that I might obtain my information from good sources.

"Now, what is your impression with regard to Wallachia, for instance?" he inquired, as he handed me a dish of *crème fouettée à la vanille*. "You may speak quite freely to me, and just as if you were stating your opinions to any one else but the Prince."

I demurred, and pleaded my short stay as a reason for not having as yet formed my opinion; but he would not let me off: and I then said that my first impression, on learning a little of the present state of Wallachia, was

one of extreme surprise, as I could not discover any equivalent advantage derived by the country from the foreign power whose predominant influence was permitted to exist, though unsupported by any just right to exercise it.

I went on to explain that it might be supposed that great palpable benefits accrue to Wallachia and Moldavia from their forced connexion with Russia, which cover the irregularity of their relative positions, and induce the inhabitants of the former to suffer without complaint encroachments that bring material advantages in their train.

“Such cases exist in Europe,” I continued, while the Prince listened to me in silence; “and there is an example of this kind in the conduct of Great Britain herself towards a state, smaller than these principalities, it is true, but somewhat similarly situated, with the exception of the one great fact, that there the principle of protection is just, while here it is unfounded. The Ionian islands are protected by England, and their respective positions are different from those of the Danubian provinces and Russia in this, that the Ionians owe allegiance to no other sovereign, as the Moldo-Wallachians do to the Sultan, and that the islands were formally placed under the protection of Great Britain by the treaty of Paris, whereas the principalities can derive no legal protection from any power but Turkey; their respective condition, however, is parallel, in so far as the British influence is unpopular among the Ionians, and it is accused by them of grasping a degree of authority which is not conceded by that treaty. Yet the admirable roads, splendid forti-



fications, and flourishing schools, besides many beneficial institutions which the English have there established, not to mention a growing debt incurred towards them without importunity for payment, amply supply a motive for the acceptance of that influence, however undue and exaggerated it may be. But in Wallachia and Moldavia the contrary is the case with regard to Russia : she has made no roads,—she has even destroyed the fortresses; she has founded no schools or other advantageous establishments ; and, instead of being a generous and convenient creditor, she extorts vast sums for the support of her troops, which also rob and ruin the people with whom they are brought into contact. It cannot, therefore, be in favour of the profitable nature of the connexion that it is allowed to subsist.”

The interview being confidential, I refrain from adding the Prince’s observations.

The servants reappeared, and Turkish pipes and coffee were brought. After another half hour I rose to take leave. He said he was also going out, and a servant brought him a great-coat, which he carefully buttoned over the glittering star on the left breast of his plain black coat ; we went to the outer door together, and there a hackney coach was waiting for him, as well as one for me. While I was reflecting that he must be going on some Harun-al-Rashid sort of expedition in his capital, he whispered in my ear :—

“ Study the country before you write ; and when you do write, I hope you will do me justice.”

“ I mean to study the country before I write, Monseigneur,” I replied ; “ and when I do write, I hope to



write the truth about your Highness, as I hope to do on every other subject that strikes me as being interesting."

We shook hands, and jumped into our respective hackney coaches, which took me to my hotel, and him on his mysterious errand.

The state of Wallachia is at present a curious subject of study to an observer. A native prince governs, between two supporters, the Ottoman and Muscovite commissioners, each of whom is backed by his army of occupation. The former of the two represents the prince's sovereign and protector, that sovereignty and protection being based on a special deed, by which the payment of an annual tribute is also stipulated, and having been exercised undisputed since the year 1460, when it was signed; and the latter of the two is the accredited agent of a foreign power, which has guaranteed to the principality the enjoyment of its established rights, and which by the law of nations can acquire no privileges by that act, because it was not a contracting party, but merely gave security for the obligations contracted by another. These are their respective positions according to legal title; but as matters stand, they are widely different, for the influence of the guaranteeing power is predominant in the councils of the native prince over that of his sovereign.

One would naturally be led to infer from these premises, that the policy of Russia must be more advantageous to Wallachia than that of Turkey, otherwise it would not be preferred; but it is a notorious and undeniable fact, that Russia is altogether indifferent how badly the internal affairs of the province are administered,

provided her political influence be maintained and progressively augmented ; while Turkey is as unquestionably most deeply and sincerely interested in the prosperity of the country. The two systems, respectively followed, are diametrically opposed to each other. The Russian policy consists in encouraging corrupt administration, in order that continual dissatisfaction may exist among the population, to act as the sword of Damocles over the prince's head, whose submission in questions of direct importance to her is secured in return for her support in his difficulties. She endeavours to keep the province in a state of constant disquietude, and the government weakened by personal ambitions and rivalries, which she excites, while both province and government are exposed to the dangers of popular irritation, occasioned by her intrigues ; and her influence is thus sanctioned by the prince as a safeguard against the jealousy of the principal Boyars, and against a possible outbreak of resentment on the part of the people, while it is not only tolerated but even courted by the Boyars, in the hope that it may advance their schemes of aggrandizement and attainment of power, at the same time that it protects the privilege of their *caste*. The Turkish system, on the other hand, is to promote, by every possible means, the successful administration of the prince, as a basis of stability and order, and the tranquillity of the population, securing the rights and interests of every class of society, furthering the material improvements which are so much required, and repressing the abuse of power and malversation of office, which have become so deeply rooted in all its departments,

that administrative employment is sought after as a certain source of wealth by easy speculation; and the tendency of all the efforts made by Turkey in favour of Wallachia, is to develop the native resources of a province attached to her empire, which will thus be strengthened on its northern frontier, by the welfare and fidelity of a population owing everything to her.

In spite of these irreproachable motives, and this unimpeachable conduct on the part of the Ottoman Porte, and notwithstanding that Wallachia has much to gain by loyal attachment to the Sultan, while the friendship of the Czar is productive of palpable evil, still the influence of Russia is preponderant with the Prince and with the Boyars for the reasons above stated; but the lower orders, which form ninety-nine hundredths of the population in Wallachia, have neither similar interests nor the same opinions, and they found all their hopes of well-being on the sympathy of the Western cabinets of Europe; which sympathy, being in every way consistent with the policy of Turkey, is expected by them to come sooner or later into the field, and to strengthen the hand of that power in the unjust contest entailed upon it within its own frontiers by a bold and unscrupulous foreign rival.

The humbler classes of society, in all countries, are generally actuated and guided in their judgment by positive facts rather than by speculative conclusions; and in Wallachia the contrast which is offered by the demeanour of the two armies of occupation, has greatly contributed towards their forming a correct estimate of their relative position with regard to them. Russia has



thus injured her cause by the success of her favourite scheme of keeping troops in the Danubian principalities, which she was always striving to accomplish, in the hope that her influence would be permanently increased by it: but the contrary result has taken place; and those very troops, which she has now succeeded in establishing on a firm footing in the country, have done much to diminish the respect of the people for the Russian name. On their first arrival, both armies were billeted on the inhabitants; the Turks respected their property, paid for what they received, and even supported the families with which they lived on the abundance provided for their own sustenance, scrupulously observing the precepts of hospitality which form a principle of their religion; but the Russian soldiers maltreated and even robbed their involuntary hosts, devouring their provisions, and impoverishing them in every way during the unwelcome occupation of their houses. So remarkable was this distinction, that the inhabitants of one quarter of the town of Bucharest, who had petitioned the Ottoman commissioner, on the entrance of the troops, to be exempted from the obligation of receiving Turkish soldiers as guests, actually applied to him for the advantage of being their hosts, when they saw how profitable it was to others; whereas, every possible means are employed to obtain relief from the burden of entertaining Russian soldiers. The bad conduct of the latter seems to be as much encouraged by their officers, as the respectable behaviour of the Osmanlis is promoted by the instructions and example of their superiors. A current anecdote may serve to illustrate this assumption. The command-



ing officer of a regiment of Russian cavalry gave orders that certain straps of their military equipments should be renewed by an appointed day; his orders were obeyed, but, as he probably was not over-anxious to inquire into the expense incurred, he may never have been aware that there was not a private carriage, or set of harness in the vicinity of the houses where his soldiers lived, from which straps had not disappeared. The story may be true and it may be false, but it was generally believed, as well as many others of similar purport; and, as even the least intelligent people can form an opinion on such grounds—and they are rarely mistaken—the Russians are consequently no favourites with the lower orders in Wallachia.

A heavy tax in money is also paid by the country for the support of this precious army of foreigners, whose presence, to say the least of it, is altogether unnecessary. The Russian army of occupation never was required in the Danubian principalities, and its continued stay is in direct opposition to their interests, as well as to those of the Turkish empire in general, and of the western powers of Europe; for apprehensions of disorders, consequent on its withdrawal, cannot reasonably be entertained, and even if they could, the presence of Russia would exacerbate rather than appease popular excitement, while their physical force, as allies of Turkey, is no more necessary than it is desirable that they should take any share in the relations and transactions which may exist between those provinces and their sovereign. The Russians allege that a long continuance of amicable relations and disinterested habits of sympathy, and an uninterrupted

series of friendly acts and immemorial tokens of kindly intercourse, have riveted the bonds and cemented the alliance which unite Russia and the Danubian principalities. But how does history speak? The intercourse between them has in all ages been prejudicial to the latter. These provinces have not been sufficiently conspicuous, in the course of European events, to enable their antecedents to become thoroughly understood, excepting by those whose attention has been especially directed to the subject; and a brief retrospect may not be considered inopportune for the better appreciation of their present position, in the great questions now at issue between Turkey and Russia; for the singular circumstances in which Wallachia and Moldavia are placed, have arisen from a long concatenation of incidents, comparatively obscure, and necessarily absorbed in the more engrossing interests which have been called up in their train; and the immediate local effects of many notorious historical events, have naturally been lost sight of by most persons in the greater results which they have ultimately produced. It will not, therefore, be irrelevant to the consideration of the actual policy of Russia, with regard to the Turkish empire, cursorily to trace the outlines of the political career of this portion of it.

The Danubian principalities formed part of the ancient kingdom of Dacia, whose first inhabitants were of Thracian origin. They were remarkable for their warlike and independent character many centuries before the people of Russia had ever been heard of in history, for they successfully combated the armies of Darius and Alexander the Great. Under their renowned king,

Decebalus, they made frequent excursions across the Danube, to ravage the Roman province of Mœsia, and, having been at last definitely repulsed by the Emperor Trajan, they were attacked by him in their own country; the remains of the celebrated bridge, built by Apollodorus of Damascus, by means of which the Romans crossed the river, are an existing token of their expedition, and its crumbling arches perpetuate on the banks of the Danube the memory of that campaign, whose sculptured records still surround the splendid column in the Imperial Forum; and it is remarkable, how strikingly the figures of the Dacians, on Trajan's Pillar at Rome, resemble the modern Wallachians in features, person, and costume. Dacia was conquered; Decebalus would not survive his defeat, and he fell on his sword; his subjects set fire to his town of Sarmizegethusa, and emigrated in great numbers to Sarmatia; and ancient Moldo-Wallachia was annexed to the territory of the Roman Empire.

The victorious legions were established there, and colonies were founded, bringing with them the laws and civilization of Rome: towns were built, roads constructed, and fortresses raised; the proverbial solidity of all Roman works being such, that traces of this connexion between the Danubian states and the then conquerors of the known world are visible to the present day in their remains, as in the habits and language of their modern population. Their inhabitants had previously led a nomadic life; their only dwellings were covered carts, from which circumstance they were styled *Hamaxobi*, or livers in waggons, as the word



implies in Greek, and their sole wealth consisted in flocks and herds ; but they were enticed by the Romans to return to their country, and to settle in towns and villages ; and a populous city which they erected on the ruins of Sarmizegethusa, the capital of Decebalus, soon arose to commemorate their subjugation, under the name of Ulpia Trajana. The Emperor Hadrian, however, adopted a different policy with regard to the more remote of his provinces, and he determined on not sustaining the influence of Rome over her wide-spread conquests. He destroyed Trajan's bridge, in order to impede the communications which had been established ; the Dacians being thus cast off, repudiated their allegiance towards Commodus, and they were finally abandoned by Aurelius. They had attained in the meantime a degree of prosperity which had been hitherto unknown in these regions ; and the ancient Russians, commencing even then to exercise their baneful influence, were destined to deprive them of it, and to restore the half savage state in which they had lived before the era of Roman colonization in Dacia.

In the end of the third century the barbarians of the north invaded the Danubian provinces. Then, for the first time, appeared on these fertile plains the lawless ancestors of those rude Cossacks, who may now be seen galloping through the streets of Bucharest with their lean ponies, carrying the forage which the terror of their long lances obtained for them from the timid and submissive Wallachians of the present day. The Roman legions, which had remained three hundred years in Dacia, soon retired before the resistless impetuosity of



the assailing tribes, and crossed the Danube. They rallied for a time in the province of Mœsia, which afterwards changed its name to that of Bulgaria, on account of the subsequent settlement of the Tatar wanderers from the banks of the Volga, also on the right bank of the Danube; and gradually the extensive and rich valley enclosed by the Carpathian and the Balkan ranges of lofty mountains was completely overrun by the enemies of civilization. The first relations that existed between the Russians and the Moldo-Wallachians were thus of a hostile nature, and they were signally disadvantageous to the latter; for, besides all the customary evils of a predatory invasion, the loss which befel them through the retreat of the Romans, who had partly civilized them, and had materially enhanced their national prosperity, must also be ascribed to those northern foes now so unaccountably regarded as friends.

The Goths and Huns came next, and they were soon followed, in the general *remue-ménage* of the middle ages, by the Lombards and other warlike rovers, who fell upon the Danubian states, and held them successively for several centuries, after having driven back the ancient Russians to their Scythian *steppes*. The Tatars appeared at last, and the remnant of the Dacians, which still lingered in the country, took flight, crossed the Carpathian mountains, and settled on their northern slopes, as tributaries of the Hungarian kings.

The strangers from the East commenced a gradual evacuation of the provinces, however, in the eleventh century, and their original inhabitants progressively returned to them; but so slowly was the change

effected, that it was not until the year 1241 that the latter were definitively established in Wallachia under their chief, Radu Negru, and in Moldavia under Bagdan Bragosh. But the principalities were not founded, as they now exist, before the end of the thirteenth and middle of the fourteenth centuries : at the former period, in the southern part of Dacia, which had then derived the name of Wallachia from the Slavonic word *wlach*, bearing the double signification of *Italian* and *shepherd* ; and at the latter epoch, in the country lying between the Carpathians and the river Poretus, now called the Pruth, which had received the general designation of Moldavia from the river Moldava, whose waters traverse it, and fall into the Danube near its mouth.

Although divided into two independent states, Wallachia and Moldavia still continued undistinguished by the habits, language, and religion of their inhabitants, and unsevered by any feeling of estrangement or of hostility against each other. Being important on account of their position, the alliance of both was eagerly sought by the kings of Poland and Hungary, in the general league which was projected, as a bulwark to protect Europe from the dreaded invasion of the Osmanlis ; but when the principalities were threatened with subjugation by that rising power, they received no assistance from their allies, and their internal weakness and exposed situation offered no means of successful resistance. Myrtshea, prince of Wallachia, after vain attempts to combat Sultan Badjazet I., therefore acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultans in the end of the fourteenth century ; and Bogdan, prince of Moldavia,

soon afterwards became the voluntary subject of the Ottoman Porte. In virtue of their act of surrender, they secured, however, the undisturbed exercise of their religion as members of the Eastern Christian church; they stipulated that no mosques or places of Mussulman worship should be erected in their country; and that every native abjuring the Christian faith, to embrace Islamism, should lose his rights in his respective province; and they retained for the Moldo-Wallachians the faculty of electing their princes by the votes of their Boyars and Bishops, and of making alliances with all foreign powers, not the declared enemies of Turkey. These several privileges were conceded in consideration of an annual tribute to the Sultan, and of an engagement, to sell to the Turkish Government, when required, all the produce of the principalities which they could export after having supplied the internal consumption.

The barbarians of the north, meanwhile, had risen to the rank of an organized nation. They first distinguished themselves in the history of the middle ages by the war waged by Sviatoslaus, the son of Rurich, against the Greek emperors of Constantinople, whom he forced to pay him a tribute; and the Danubian provinces then suffered, for the second time at their hands, all the horrors of rude warfare, without deriving any other result from the struggle than that of rapine and desolation wherever their country was the field on which it raged.

The sovereigns of Russia first took the title of grand dukes; they next proclaimed themselves as kings, or in Sclavonian *czars*; and finally, in the year 1721, Peter the Great assumed the dignity of emperor. Before the



latter epoch the Russian church was governed by a patriarch, residing at Moscow ; but Peter abolished that ecclesiastical rank, and appointed a synod of bishops, of which he announced himself to be the head. This circumstance exercised a powerful influence on the Moldo-Wallachians, whose sovereign was then the chief of Islam ; for they were easily brought to regard the Czar as the protector of their religion, although he was, in fact, a schismatic ; and bigotry blinded the right judgment of the Sultan's Danubian subjects, estranging them from the legitimate sovereign, in whose hands their welfare lay, and drawing them towards a neighbouring potentate of similar creed with themselves, but of widely different secular interests.

Peter declared war against the spirited young king of Sweden. Charles XII. proved to him that he had much to do before he could cope with the old monarchies of Europe, for 60,000 Russians were totally defeated at Narva by 9,000 Swedes.

"They will teach us how to beat them at last," said Peter ; and his prediction was fulfilled. He took Narva by storm. Favoured by Mazeppa, Byron's hero, who had deserted from the Czar's army, Charles penetrated into the Ukraine, and laid siege to its capital with 20,000 men ; Peter rushed to the relief of Pultava, and destroyed the Swedish force. This was one of the most important battles in modern history, and its consequences will be felt for ages to come, in so far as the destinies of Russia involve those of the whole of Europe. Had Peter the Great been routed, or even had he fallen victoriously, his subjects would probably have sunk back



into that state of barbarism, from which they were emerging only through his personal efforts. His good fortune, however, was not invariable; for he soon afterwards met with serious reverses on the renewal of the war with Turkey, and he could only conclude a treaty of peace by restoring the town of Azoph. He afterwards extended the Russian territory still further when the peninsula of Crim Tartary was annexed to it, and the river Dniester became the boundary between his empire and that of Turkey, approaching thus the Danubian principalities, which were then conterminous with his dominions.

Ever since the accession of that great prince, the ambition of the Russian government has constantly tended towards the acquisition of territory, and that policy instituted by him has been followed by the subsequent heads of the nation with undeviating constancy, ability, and caution; its results having hitherto been the formation and consolidation of an empire equal in extent to the whole of Europe, and the largest state now existing in the world, being nearly 10,000 miles in circumference, 4,000 in a straight line drawn from the northern frontiers of Sweden to the shores of the Caspian Sea, 2,000 from its northern to its southern extremities, and stretching across the globe from west to east, without interruption, from the German boundaries to Behring's Straits.

Beside this colossal and still increasing power lay the Danubian principalities, like pigmies at the feet of a giant. In extent not greater than England, possessing a population only the fifth part of that which they could

support, and that population containing none of the elements of national strength,—for it is divided between two classes, the affluent and the indigent, the rich being solely addicted to luxury, ostentation, and political intrigue, and the poor being indolent, miserable, oppressed, and degraded, Moldo-Wallachia looked forward to her ultimate incorporation in the growing empire of Russia. Her fertile soil, still as productive as it was when the Emperor Trajan obtained supplies from his 30,000 Romish colonists for the army which he sent against the Scythians and Sarmatians, was a bait for the covetousness and ambition of Peter; for he foresaw of what advantage might be to him the possession of such a resource in his wars with Turkey,—so varied are the articles produced in the wooded and picturesque tracts of country near the Carpathian mountains, and on the bare, flat, and marshy plains towards the Danube. Grain of different kinds, wool, butter, honey, wax, tallow, salt, timber, and salted provisions, were already exported in great quantities to the market of Constantinople; and horses, oxen, hogs, and hides, were poured into Germany to a vast amount. Peter did not overlook the importance of monopolising these rich productions for Russia, and he resolved on appropriating them as soon as possible.

The object to be obtained by founding the new capital of Russia at St. Petersburg, was in course of realization by the progressive subjugation of Finland and Bothnia, and the only enemy to be feared in that direction was no longer formidable after the defeat of Charles XII. The enterprising Peter must extend his empire still further

towards the south and the east; Constantinople and Calcutta arose in his dreams to be the substitutes for St. Petersburg, as the latter had supplanted Moscow, the ancient capital of his ancestors, when they were merely the obscure dukes of uncivilized Muscovy. The rising Russian giant was cramped in his bleak plains and inland *steppes*. He must stretch out his huge arms towards the sea, to make room in his growing adolescence for the prodigious dimensions of his future maturity.

The monarchies of the East, Persia, Khiva, and Bokhara, were rapidly becoming dependent on the Czar, and the feeble bulwark opposed by the Tatars was evidently crumbling to pieces. Asia was doomed, in his visions of almost universal domination; India was marked as an ultimate prey; and European Turkey became the subject of his immediate views. He deluded himself into the belief that the Ottoman empire was crouching powerless before the inevitable and triumphant advance of his own or his successors' arms; and the singular document which he left to them as a political will, proves the authenticity of his grasping and insatiable ambition with regard to the extension of his dominions, A century and a half has hardly elapsed, and it has already been demonstrated to them and to the world, how much the power of Russia had been overrated in one respect, and how ill-appreciated were the resources, moral and material, of the vigorous Osmanlis.

Peter again went to war with Turkey. Constantine Brancovano, the prince of Wallachia, agreed to assist him with 30,000 men, and to realize his scheme of drawing supplies for his army from that province. This



was the first open act of treason which grew out of the attachment of the Danubian principalities to Russia, founded on the sympathies of their common religious persuasion. The faithless prince, alarmed by the military preparations of the warlike Sultan Ahmed, soon betrayed the emperor, and the latter was ultimately saved in that disastrous campaign of the Pruth, by the hasty conclusion of a peace, erroneously attributed by some historians to the address of his wife Catherine, in gaining the Grand Vezir, to whom she was said to have despatched all the objects of value in the Russian camp, enabling the rash invaders thus to retreat from the once celebrated Jassiorum Municipium, now called Jassy, which they had occupied. Brancovano was arrested at Bucharest, dragged with his family to Constantinople, and beheaded there, together with his four sons. Prince Cantemir of Moldavia, who had openly declared in favour of the Czar, escaped into Russia, and there eluded the vengeance of the Sultan.

The Porte then determined on placing Greeks of Constantinople at the head of the two provincial governments; and, two years after these events had taken place, a new era in the history of the principalities commenced, by the installation of these skilful politicians in the office of Hospodar, as they were now called, from the Slavonic word *gospodia* or lord, and by the formal disfranchisement of the Moldo-Wallachians of their right to elect their own princes.

Here, then, was a direct result suffered by the principalities in consequence of their treachery towards their sovereign and of their attachment to Russia, and it was



a most prejudicial result to them ; for, from this time forward, they were oppressed and degraded in every possible way through the misrule of the Greeks, who obtained their posts by bribery, and repaid themselves by extortion. The ordinary assessments were arbitrarily raised to an indefinite amount ; custom-house duties were levied on the produce of the interior in transporting it to the market, without following any fixed principle ; the taxes on live stock were charged ten and fifteen times higher than was legally established ; forage was collected for the stables of the Hospodar and his Greek favourites, and for the service of the posts, in proportions which appear quite fabulous ; forced labour was imposed on the peasantry to a most vexatious degree, in order to induce them to purchase exemption ; grain was required from the wooded districts, and timber from the open plains, for public use, to oblige the villagers to pay their value in money ; thousands of patents of nobility were sold ; privileges granted according to a tariff ; justice was in the market ; the inspection of schools, the direction of hospitals, and the charge of beneficent funds, became profitable speculations ; and, to complete the demoralization of the government in all its branches, rank in the police militia was conferred on the highest bidders, who were generally the very malefactors whose detection was the most necessary.

This notoriously corrupt administration on the part of the Greeks was encouraged by Russia, who hoped to see disaffection toward the Sultan arise from the wrongs suffered at the hands of his unworthy nominees ; and for a whole century this deplorable condition of the

principalities was maintained by the Greeks, who, feeling no sympathy for the population, served their own corrupt interests, at the same time that they realized the malevolent purposes of Russia, to whom most of them were sold.

At last the treaty of Kainardjé furnished to the court of St. Petersburg, in the year 1774, an opportunity of revenging itself on the Ottoman Porte for the humiliation of the treaty of Pruth. The Russian government then acquired the right of intervention in the affairs of the principalities. But that right was, in point of fact, infinitely more limited than its subsequent mode of exercise would lead one to suppose; for it was merely stipulated on this subject that "*le ministre de la Cour Impériale de Russie à Constantinople aura le droit de parler en faveur de ces Principautés, et la Sublime Porte aura égard à ses représentations.*" These were the feeble and slender foundations on which was afterwards raised the formidable superstructure of active protection and armed occupation. It appears that the Empress Catherine II, who signed that treaty, had formed the project of creating an independent kingdom for Constantine, the second of her grandsons, or for her favourite, Potemkin, which should consist of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia; but the annexation of the latter province to the Russian empire, which soon took place, gave another turn to the traditional ambition of the Czars.

The revolt of Pasvand Oglu, pasha of Widin, who ravaged Little Wallachia, drew forth that violent retributive reaction on the part of the Sultan which drove Prince Soutzo and most of his Boyars to take refuge in

Transylvania ; and Russia then interposed. The result was the publication of the Hatti Sherif of 1802, negotiated at Constantinople by the Russian minister. That document, after recapitulating the previous stipulations with regard to the Danubian principalities, establishes the right of the court of St. Petersburg "de surveiller l'intégrité des privilèges *garantis*." This was another step in the career of Russian diplomacy on the banks of the Danube ; and she now appeared categorically as a guaranteeing power, and not as the protector, which in her conduct she assumed to be.

The peace that ensued between the two great empires did not last long, for the continual and unjustifiable interference of Russia in the affairs of the principalities soon led to the war between her and the Sultan, already alluded to as having been brought to a close at Giurgevo and Rustshuk, and which resulted in the treaty of Bucharest, and in the annexation of Bessarabia to the dominions of the Czar. Moldavia Proper and Wallachia were then evacuated by their dangerous friends, after a disastrous military occupation of seven years, which was the only effect produced on the principalities by the officious alliance and protection of Russia on this occasion. The traces of the calamities caused by the war were visible long after the hostilities had ceased. Pestilence and famine were at the peasant's door ; fear and uneasiness invaded the palace. The Turks became an object of dread, on account of the bad faith which had been displayed towards them, and the Boyars expected daily to see their treachery punished. The fortresses were dismantled, and the villagers were obliged to work



gratuitously to repair them ; and for several years the material prosperity of the provinces was retarded, while the sufferings of their inhabitants was enhanced by a casual mortality among the live stock, which formed the principal source of their wealth.

The treaty of Bucharest repeats the expression of the Hatti Sherif, and confirms “*les privilèges garantis aux Principautés du Danube par la cour de Russie.*” Other diplomatic stipulations place the relations between Russia and the Danubian principalities on the same footing, and none exists of any kind which gives the former the right of *protection*. Facts also, as well as documents, prove that the assumption of that right on the part of Russia is unfounded and unjustifiable. Wallachia and Moldavia pay her no tribute or protection money, as is customary with protected states ; they are not bound to assist her in her wars ; they are not included in her alliances ; and the avowed system of their government is in nowise similar to hers. Russia is, therefore, nothing more than a guaranteeing power ; and, as such, she acquires no right to herself. According to international law, as interpreted by Vattel, the first authority on the subject, the only duty or function of a guaranteeing power is to maintain the rights of the state to which security has been given ; and a treaty which receives the support of such foreign security cannot confer any privileges on the state which grants it, for that state would then become a contracting party, and would cease to be a guaranteeing power. A cabinet arrogating other functions under these circumstances, openly violates international law, and presents the spec-



tacle of arbitrary interference in the affairs of other states exercised by usurpation, and tolerated by weakness.

The result is prejudicial to the Moldo-Wallachians, and injurious to their acknowledged sovereign, the Sultan: the interests of those two parties are identical; and were it advantageous to the former, it would be so likewise to the latter; but the intrusion of an unauthorized protector between a sovereign and his subjects can never be a matter for congratulation; and it cannot, therefore, be called robbing Peter to pay Paul—it is robbing both Peter and Paul, to pay another who is no friend to either, and in a species of coin which enjoys the most favoured currency with that other, as there is nothing more agreeable to Russia than a little meddling and mischief-making in a neighbour's dominions. A remarkable illustration of her taste in this respect is afforded by the next historical phasis of any importance in the existence of the Danubian principalities, which took place about nine years after the conclusion of the treaty of Bucharest.

When the Greek revolution broke out in 1821, the Wallachians, secretly instigated by Russia, again revolted against their sovereign, in the hope of recovering the independence which they had enjoyed previously to their submission to the Porte. Their attempt resulted in total failure; principally through the inefficiency of their most prominent leader, Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, who was the son of one of the Greek Hospodars, and who held, at the time of the insurrection, the rank of brigadier-general in the Russian army. His jealousy and distrust of a native partizan, who simultaneously took up arms in the

cause of his country, and who soon attained equal, if not superior authority in the insurrection, was also instrumental in frustrating the exertions of both chiefs; for, had they acted in unison, they might have obtained some concessions at least from Turkey; but when the latter perceived that no accord existed between them, she found no difficulty in suppressing the rebellion, and in re-establishing order on the terms which appeared to her most favourable to the interests of Wallachia.

The native leader was an officer of Pandours, by name Theodore Vladimiresco, who had served in the last campaign against Turkey; as soon as he heard of Ypsilanti's advance, he went with about fifty Albanians to Little Wallachia, where he succeeded in raising a few thousand men, and then he marched to Bucharest. The Hospodar, Alexander Soutzo, had died suddenly, and the Porte had named Prince Callimachi to succeed him. Delegates from the latter, who was still at Constantinople, arrived in the principality, and made amicable overtures to Vladimiresco; but he replied, that he would not allow the new Hospodar to cross the Danube until a constitution should be granted. Anarchy and confusion ensued; the timid Boyars fled to Austria and Russia; trade and agriculture were abandoned; and malefactors took advantage of the circumstances of the country to commit crimes of all kinds. Russia had thus attained the main object of her policy.

Ypsilanti, meanwhile, approached the chief town of Wallachia with a band of followers, belonging for the most part to the celebrated Greek conspiracy, known by the name of the Hetairia, and he took up his position at

Colintina, the country-house of the Ghika family, within a mile of the town. The two chiefs met ; but they did not come to any understanding with regard to the future direction of the revolution. They were guided by different motives ; and, although they had the same immediate aim in view, there were many points on which they could not agree. Vladimiresco was only desirous of improving the corrupt system of government which had oppressed the principality, and of raising it from the abject position in which it had lain supine under the abominable rule of the Greeks ; Ypsilanti, himself a Greek, and son of a Hospodar, felt no sympathy in such a cause, and was, in fact, employed by Russia for the express purpose of precipitating Moldo-Wallachia into serious difficulties : the Wallachian was by no means hostile to Turkey, provided the fate of his country were ameliorated under her ; the Greek was a member of that secret society, whose purpose was the overthrow of the Ottoman power of Europe ; and he was the agent of Russia, who was straining every nerve to embarrass the administration of the Sultan in any part of his empire, where he could succeed in doing so. The disunion of the two leaders was, therefore, a natural result of the conflicting nature of their respective missions and interests.

Vladimiresco withdrew to the convent of Kotrotsheni, and Ypsilanti fell back on Tirgovist, the ancient capital of Wallachia. Russia, following her usual system of conduct in such circumstances, disavowed the operations of her general, after having encouraged him to embark in the enterprise ; and Turkey prepared to put down the insurrection. An army of 300,000 men was sent across



the Danube, under the command of the Kiahia Bay, governor of Silistria. Vladimiresco retired from Kotrotsheni towards the small town of Pitesti. Ypsilanti, seeing this movement, suspected that the Wallachian leader had submitted to the Turks, and that he was endeavouring to cut off the retreat of the Greeks by intercepting them in the rear, with the view of assisting the Ottoman force; he therefore had him seized at Golesti, on his way to Pitesti, and he ordered that he should immediately be conveyed to Tirgovist. A semblance of a trial took place there; the patriot was condemned without defence or evidence against him, and he was put to death by his rival. Some of his troops joined the Hetairists, and the remainder were disbanded. The rebels were soon threatened with an overwhelming attack on the part of the Turks; their provisions were failing them, and their feeble chief resolved on seeking security in a hurried retreat. The Sacred Battalion alone, formed of enthusiastic young men belonging to the first families, who had taken that classical title, was eager to meet the enemy. Their desire was consummated at Drageshan, a spot where laurels should spring up spontaneously as at Virgil's tomb, for they fell to a man without once breaking their ranks. The revolutionary army was totally routed, and its general escaped into Austria, where he died in prison after lingering several years in confinement.

Thus ended the second episode of Russian benevolence towards the Danubian principalities, which were left in a state of complete disorganization, overrun by brigands from among the disbanded Pandours and Arnaouts, the



towns deserted, and the country uncultivated. It had one advantageous effect, however, as the provinces were relieved from the corrupt, tyrannical, and arbitrary sway of the Greeks, who were no longer employed by the Turks; and the Moldo-Wallachians have since then been allowed to elect their princes from among themselves; but this boon was not due to Russia, and, indeed, it was contrary to her interests and policy, for the servile and venal Greeks were more useful to her than the native heads of the provincial governments. The Sultan restored this privilege to his subjects, notwithstanding their having revolted against him, and in spite of the opposition of Russia; all former errors were cancelled, and the principalities were reinstated in their pristine enjoyment of native administration.

This act of clemency on the part of the Ottoman Porte offended Russia, and a coolness existed for some time between the two cabinets in consequence of it. Prince Gregory Ghika was quietly ruling, meanwhile, in Wallachia; and Prince John Sturza in Moldavia, although neither of them was recognised by the court of St. Petersburg as a legitimate Hospodar. The misunderstanding between the two great rivals became embarrassing, and at last the treaty of Ackermann was concluded in 1826, with the view of defining their relative positions. A separate deed was annexed to it, in which the rights of the Danubian principalities were recapitulated, but nothing material was changed in the conditions of their political existence; and the long-continued ill-humour of the Czar only procured him another opportunity of professing a friendship towards them which was invariably belied by his acts.

The peace lasted only two years, however, as war broke out in 1828, in consequence of the battle of Navarino, that memorable "untoward event," as it was felicitously styled. A Russian army, under the command of Count Wittgenstein, hastened across the river Pruth. On their approach, the native princes resigned their authority, and Count Pahlen assumed the reins of government, under the title of President of the Divans of the two Principalities. The unpatriotic Boyars sang pæans in honour of the change; but the people judged truly that it was merely a change of masters without any benefit to them, and the substitution of an imperious foreigner in the place of a lenient native.

King Stork had succeeded to King Log; the country was not governed, but militarily occupied; no sufferings were alleviated, and the few remaining prerogatives of the provinces were abrogated; it was the same tale of bricks without providing straw. The great name of the emperor of Russia was thrown as a cloak over every abuse; his mysterious power, wielded by occult intrigues and secret agents, inspired respect not unmingled with awe, and enhanced the terror of his invading arms, as a mist magnifies the moon. Their success was complete. The Wallachian fortresses of Ibralia, Giurgevo, Turno, and Kalé, held by the Turks, were ably besieged; and several advantageous engagements took place between them and the Russians in Little Wallachia, the native troops of the principalities being embodied in the ranks of the latter. The operations of the first campaign terminated with the fall of Varna; in the next, the army, commanded by the notorious Marshal Diebitsch, crossed the Balkans, and

entered Adrianople, that second capital of European Turkey. Negotiations commenced, and a treaty of peace was concluded. Its fifth article is exclusively on the subject of the Danubian principalities, and, with its annexed clause, it offers a singular specimen of praiseworthy principles vaunted in theory, which have ever been repudiated in practice: every kind of liberty was nominally secured to the provinces on paper, and none was allowed to them, in fact, by the self-appointed guardian of that liberty;—the northern bear, as usual, played the part of the wolf in the fable taking care of the lamb. An organic law was framed by the Prussian dictator, Count Kisseleff; a general and radical reform was proposed; the ancient and defective modes of administration were condemned; a new system was planned. A *soi-disant* representation of the people was instituted; the principal authorities were declared responsible; a disciplined army was to be enrolled, and regular tribunals, just and immaculate, were to be established. All this was most admirable; but strangers were in possession of the principalities. An army of occupation, and a foreign provisional government, were the only practical results which the Moldo-Wallachians realized after so many illusory projects and promises which had been held out to them, and these two real afflictions were suffered for five years.

In the year 1834, Alexander Ghika, a brother of the last prince of Wallachia, was placed at the head of the government. Although corruption and oppression still continued to be the principal characteristics of the administration, and little or nothing was altered in the system in spite of all the sonorous phrases which had been



uttered on the subject of reform, the new Hospodar was generally admitted to be the best who had ever ruled in Wallachia. His career was, however, cut short by the intrigues of an artful and ambitious Boyar, by name George Bibesco. Favoured by Russia, and backed by a numerous band of partisans, who hoped to enrich themselves through his promised connivance at malversation and abuse of office, this bold schemer succeeded in inducing the Assembly of Boyars to sign an address exposing the manifold grievances of the country; these were certainly neither small nor few, and they were undoubtedly far from being unfounded; but they did not then exist to a greater extent than they had done under other Hospodars, and it is undeniable that they had not reached so enormous a degree as they did subsequently, when the principle complainant himself became the prince of Wallachia. Russia promptly took advantage of a clause in the treaty of Adrianople, which sanctions the dismissal of a Hospodar who has been found guilty of such faults; and she obtained the concurrence of the Porte for the removal of Prince Ghika from his post. George Bibesco was appointed to it in his stead.

An absurd affectation of national enthusiasm, the most profound hypocrisy, and a well-sustained and continual display of a high order of Machiavellic talent in all his actions, were the most salient features of Prince Bibesco's character as Hospodar. Patriotic pilgrimages to the tomb of Michael the Brave, one of the ancient princes who had distinguished himself by a chivalrous love of his country, and the assiduous distribution of prints of himself in the costume of that warrior chief,



were affairs of state with George Bibesco; but while he was meditating over the ashes of a dead hero at Tirgovist, like Charles V. in the mausoleum of Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and fancying himself a small Napoleon Buonaparte apostrophising the mortal remains of Frederick the Great, the people who had been committed to his charge were examining his conduct towards the living Wallachians, and weighing him in a balance in which he was found wanting. A number of young men, several of them of high rank, who had received their education in the west of Europe, and had drawn a sad comparison, on their return to Bucharest, between the actual state of their country and the results of the enlightened government which they had witnessed abroad, had set themselves apart from the low standard of society in Wallachia, and were canvassing the means of raising the principality from its deplorable ruins.

The consideration of the rich endowments which nature has so prodigally lavished on that favoured land, and the examination of the eminently fortunate disposition of its population, fired their enthusiastic minds with bright hopes of future national prosperity; while the review of the unprofitable manner in which the soil is occupied, and the investigation of the unfair condition of the peasantry, roused a generous indignation in the rising party against the iniquitous conduct of the majority of the Boyars. The undue influence of Russia, too, became an object for their serious reflection, and they soon conceived the most inveterate abhorrence of that obnoxious power. Gifted with no mean talents, which had been successfully cultivated, supported in

their arduous task by untiring perseverance, and by indomitable personal courage, some of them stimulated also by the most vigorous personal ambition, and several of them possessing considerable private fortune, which they willingly sacrificed in the common cause, they became a formidable faction in the province, whose collective enlightenment and individual sagacity were more than a match for the weak, ignorant, and corrupt intellects of those in power. They boldly accepted the mission, which seemed to be assigned to them by the miserable lot of their suffering fellow-countrymen, and by their own peculiar circumstances, and they commenced their political crusade with ardent anticipations of success.

The first step in the healing art is to lay open and probe the wound; for this purpose they devoted themselves to journalism, before proceeding to action. They turned over and thoroughly sifted the rubbish of the middle ages produced by the crumbling fabrics of obsolete institutions, which choked and stifled the growth and development of the prodigious resources of Wallachia. The truth was displayed in an irresistible light, and converts flocked to their patriotic banner. An insurrectionary spirit was spreading rapidly in the country. When Prince Bibesco became aware of it, he was vain and silly enough to suppose that he could guide and use it as a means of personal aggrandizement. In the political convulsions and social wars of 1848, he saw elements of the complete overthrow of both the Turkish and the Russian empires; and he indulged in the fond delusion that he was the chosen instrument

for the foundation of an independent state, of which he would be proclaimed king. His almost open encouragement was the spark which fired the train; his confidential advisers were seen conspiring with the others; none were ignorant of the existence of crying evils, both social and political; a few were known to be active in the search for their remedy; no measures were taken to oppose them, and all were thus prepared for a sudden change.

A revolution took place. Its chief cry was, "Faire du fruit du travail un droit de propriété;" and, of a truth, if there be a country in Europe in which such a principle is required, that country is Wallachia, where the peasants are ground down by forced labour for the government, and by cultivation for their lords, without the faculty of possessing an inch of soil for themselves. Besides this, the correction of flagrant abuses in the administration, a proper and *bonâ fide* representation of the people, the abolition of privileges, and above all, the expulsion of Russian influence, were aimed at by this movement. A constitution was drawn up, with the view of realizing the reforms proposed. It was presented to Prince Bibesco by a crowd of the inhabitants, who collected around his palace, under the guidance of those who had composed it; and he signed it, accepting all the conditions which were offered to him, in the belief that the change would place a crown on his head. He was soon undeceived, however, when he perused, on the following day, a violent protest, which the Russian consul-general, Monsieur de Kotzebue, lodged in the



name of the Czar ; and, fearing the consequences of assuming the responsibility of what had occurred, he resigned the authority with which he was invested, although he could do so only into the hands of the Sultan. Perceiving that the game was lost, he threw up his cards, and suddenly left the country in despair. A provisional government was formed by the authors of the revolution, and the Herculean labours of reform were commenced.

Monsieur Kotzebue, meanwhile, had struck his flag and retired from the capital, declining to recognise, or hold any communication with, the new administration ; and his correspondent, Monsieur Titoff, the Russian minister at Constantinople, had addressed the most urgent remonstrances to the Porte on the bloodless collision between the people and their rulers at Bucharest, which he denounced as a puerile imitation of the recent rising up in judgment of the paving-stones of Paris, where the streets were strewed with corpses. The philanthropic scheme of abolishing Wallachian servitude by apportioning the land in freehold tenure to the extent which the serfs were respectively allowed to cultivate on their own account, as was the case in many enlightened countries, when the feudal laws of the middle ages were abrogated, was represented as a violation of the rights of property ; and a horrible picture of the complete disorganization of society was portrayed in vivid colours to alarm the Sultan, because the pusillanimous Boyars had followed their traditional habit of taking to flight on the first appearance of a violent change. The Ottoman government, therefore, resolved on despatching a dele-



gate to watch over the welfare of the Danubian principalities, and Soleyman Pasha was entrusted with this mission. When he reached Giurgevo, he recognised the existing government. Russia refused to do so, for she saw at once that it could not suit her views that a portion of the Turkish empire should advance in prosperity ; and it did not suit her views that liberal institutions should be established so near the frontiers of her own empire. Monsieur Kotzebue, therefore, still remained at Galatz, whither he had retired, and Monsieur Titoff renewed his manœuvres at Constantinople with increased energy. He went so far as to suspend amicable relations with the Sultan's government. The latter, unwilling that a war should ensue without having, at least, attempted further to arrange matters, appointed Fuad Effendi, a distinguished statesman, commissioner in the Danubian principalities, and recalled Soleyman Pasha. The new representative of the Porte soon arrived in Wallachia, and he was accompanied by General Duhamel, a Russian diplomatist, who had been employed on two former occasions at Bucharest, and who now returned as commissioner of the Czar. They were backed by a strong Turkish force, under the command of Omer Pasha. The convent of Kotrotscheni, on the outskirts of the town, was selected as a suitable place for their headquarters, and the members of the provisional government were invited to meet the commissioners there, for the purpose of considering the state of the country.

The presence of the Russian agent precluded the possibility of Fuad Effendi coming to a satisfactory understanding with the reformers ; and, after a short discussion,

in which it soon became evident that a compromise was hopeless, Omer Pasha marched into the town with the troops. Some resistance was offered by a corps of Wallachians, but it was soon overcome; and the career of the revolutionary party was cut short, after existing only three months. Constantine Cantacuzene, a Boyar in the Russian interests, was named Caïmacan, or Lieutenant of the province; the old system was again installed, and a furious persecution commenced against those who had sought to better the condition of their fellow-countrymen. Some of them took refuge at the British consulate, and many left the principality under the protection of passports granted to them by that authority. In this we only followed the invariable principles of England, who extends a generous and fearless hospitality to political exiles of every class, from every country, and in every cause; but the Russian party were so exasperated by it, that they did not scruple to spread the most malignant and calumnious reports on the subject of our foreign policy.

Another arrangement was concluded between Turkey and Russia, known by the name of that of Balta-Liman; it sanctioned the armed occupation of the Danubian principalities by Russia, and the residence of her commissioner at Bucharest, to further her schemes in concert with her consul-general. The latter returned to his post with hordes of Cossacks, who immediately rushed across the frontier, and with herds of Boyars, who eagerly regained their luxurious pasturage, as soon as it was secured by foreign lances from the inroads of the ravenous wolves, disinterested patriotism, liberal insti-

tutions, and enlightened administration ; and the previous mode of exercising and undergoing predominant influence was resumed, old abuses were revived, and the prosperity of the country, which had for a moment struggled to rise into existence, again succumbed under the incubus of former years.

A Hospodar was appointed in the person of the present Prince Stirbey, the brother of the last Prince George Bibesco, and he continues to direct the affairs of Wallachia, with the assistance of the two imperial commissioners.

History, therefore, proves that the connexion which has existed between the Moldo-Wallachians and the court of Russia has never been otherwise than most eminently prejudicial to the former ; but, in justice to the Czar, it must be admitted that all the evils arising from the exercise of influence by Russia in the principalities, cannot be traced to St. Petersburg ; and however unfavourable may be the broad facts of the case, still the imperial cabinet must be acquitted of many charges which are often brought against it, and which might be more equitably preferred against its agents individually.

## CHAPTER XIII.

ORIGIN OF THE TITLE OF PRINCE IN WALLACHIA—BOYARS—SERVITUDE OF THE WALLACHIANS—THEIR CLAIM TO ROMAN DESCENT—THE GIPSIES IN WALLACHIA—THE JEWS AT BUCHAREST—SAXONS—SECKLERS.

WHEN Radu Negru, or Black Rudolph, the first ruler of Wallachia, founded its ancient polity in the thirteenth century, he assumed the title of *Domnu*, or Lord; his successors were called *Voïvodes*, which means General-in-Chief in the Slavonic dialects; and the adoption of this term is said to have been consequent on the schism of the Eastern church, to which the Wallachians belonged, and which introduced a Slavonic Liturgy to mark the estrangement from the church of Rome. *Hospodar* is likewise a Slavonic word, signifying Lord, and it was also appropriated by the rulers of Wallachia before its incorporation in the Ottoman Empire, as well as by the subsequent Governors-general; but it was only by the Fanariotes during the last century that the title of Prince was affected, as a translation of the rank of Bey conferred on them by the Sultan. This princely dignity is, therefore, of doubtful legitimacy, and when it is considered that the functions exercised are exclusively authorized by a Firman of the Porte, and that the rank of *Vezir* was formerly granted with them, that of *Mushir* being now substituted for it; the title of Prince is no more applicable to those



functionaries than it would be to any other Pasha of a province, although Wallachia, Moldavia, and Serbia, have received privileges not generally enjoyed. But the love of high-sounding honours is one of the besetting sins of the Danubian populations, which they derived from the traditions of the Imperial court of Byzantium, which were engrafted by their Greek satraps on the essentially democratical institutions of the country.

In Moldo-Wallachia the monarchical, and even the feudal principle never existed. The *Domnu* was elected by universal suffrage from amongst all the classes of the inhabitants, Boyars, Priests, and Peasants; the first being the soldiery, from the word *boïu*, which is a corruption of the Latin *bellum*. These warriors were not mercenary troops, but levies of all those who were capable of bearing arms; but in time of war they were exempted from the payment of all taxes and contributions of every kind; and this is the origin of the existing aristocracy, which, though not hereditary, is still thus privileged. It is the official *caste*, occupying civil as well as military posts, for they are now all designated as *Boyars*, or fighting men, and their respective rank, whether that of a judge or of a chamberlain, or of any other functionary, is classed by military titles which indicate the grade of nobility, and not the functions fulfilled. The son of a Boyar, if not employed under Government, becomes the equal of any peasant, and the humble cultivator who enters the public service, may rise to the rank of *Domnu*.

Thus, the descendants of Myrtshea, who commanded as Hospodar the Wallachian Boyars at the battle of

Nicopolis, are now following the plough; while the grandfather of Prince Barbo Stirbey, at present administering the affairs of the country, was a herdsman, his family name, which signifies *the Toothless*, having been assumed by him with an estate left him by a person who bore that *sobriquet*.

At first landed property was held either as private domains by the rich, or as commons by the poor inhabitants of the villages, and it could be sold in either case. As families amassed wealth, they bought up the soil from many of the communities to extend their estates, and a pauper class was thus created. The latter worked for the great proprietors, and gradually became their serfs, by selling themselves and their families for ever, in years of famine, occasioned by the frequent wars and invasions, for a few bushels of grain. Michael, surnamed the Brave, confirmed this pernicious system in the sixteenth century, and extended it to the whole agricultural population, which he attached to the glebe, as it then was in the neighbouring kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, in the hope that he might thus constitute a powerful state like them. And this miserable policy has entailed on the country its present wretched condition, although the originator of the existing evils be lauded and revered as the national hero. The last blow was struck by the organic law, instituted during the Russian occupation; and the unfortunate peasant then found himself amenable also to forced labour, without wages; the legal number of days per annum was fixed at twenty-four; but the manner in which it is exacted deprives him of no less than sixty days' work. Bad as

this may seem, it is, however, a light burden compared with that which is borne by the population of the Military Frontiers of Austria, where the peasants give three-fourths of their time for nothing, instead of one-fifth as the Wallachians do. But, if the state of the lower classes be degraded, it is infinitely less depraved than that of the Boyars.

The Wallachians call themselves *Rumoons*, their language *Rumanest*, and their country *Tsare Rumanearca*, or *Terra Romana*, with the addition of the Slavonic termination of the adjective. The *patois* they speak certainly contains a great many words of Latin origin, but there are also a vast number of Slavonian terms, besides several adopted from the Turkish and the modern Greek. Language, however, is not an infallible test of descent, and the Dacians may have partially assumed that of their Roman conquerors, as well as of other invaders who subsequently overran the country. The allegation that the original inhabitants were altogether extirpated can hardly be believed; and it is equally improbable that the posterity of Trajan's colonies should have been kept pure from all amalgamation with the different tribes who afterwards occupied their territory in succession. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the Wallachian race, like their language, is a compound of Dacian, Roman, and Slavonian,—elements, in which it may be admitted that the Roman predominates. The national party, as it is called, that is, the few individuals who dare openly to oppose the Russian influence, and with whom originated the revolution of 1848, assert that Wallachia is more Roman



than Rome herself; they claim kindred with the French as a cognate race, and they expect assistance from them against the common enemy. Monsieur de Lamartine's Manifesto is all that they have as yet obtained, and it was, doubtless, useful to them as a model for the patriotic proclamations of their Provisional Government,—full of fine sentiments and devoid of good sense.

Mr. Borrow's works are somewhat damaging to the classical pretensions of the *Rumoons*, as he shows that the Gipsies in every part of Europe call themselves *Romani*, and he traces satisfactorily that appellation to a Sanscrit root. Now, Wallachia was the first country in which that singular people halted, and there are more of them even now to be found there than anywhere else. It is not proved at what period the name of *Rumoons* was introduced among the Wallachians, who were originally known under the title of *Wlachs*; and the high-sounding denomination of the present day might perhaps have been derived from the Gipsies, rather than from the Romans.

In Wallachia, the Gipsies, 25,000 in number, are slaves. Many of them are brought up in families of all classes of society, and there are instances, even among the highest, of consanguinity between the two races.

When they first appeared in the Danubian provinces, in the year 1413, there were only 3,000 of them, but other bands of the same race soon followed. They were supposed by some to be spies sent by the Turks to reconnoitre Christendom, preparatory to their intended invasion; others believed them to be Egyptians on a religious pilgrimage; and they artfully endeavoured to confirm



this latter opinion, which obtained for them protection from the authorities. Learned divines searched the Holy Scriptures for an explanation, and found the 12th verse of the xxixth chapter of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, and the 26th verse of the xxxth chapter, in which it was foretold that the Egyptians would be scattered among the nations, and dispersed through the countries ; and the coincidence was supposed to be strengthened by the statement of the Gipsies themselves, some of whom announced to the Wallachians that they had been condemned by Heaven, for their apostasy from Christianity, to wander for seven years ; while others declared that a famine had driven them out of their own land. The Church adopted the belief, that this infliction had fallen upon them as a punishment for the refusal of their ancestors to receive our Lord, when carried thither by the Virgin Mary and Joseph, to escape from the persecution of Herod.

They passed themselves off as holy penitents, and, when they sought to extend their pilgrimage westwards, they obtained, in virtue of their assumed sanctity, safe-conducts from Wladislaus II, king of Hungary, and Sigismund, king of Poland, as well as permission from the Pope, to wander about Christendom. They continued to live in security in Wallachia, appearing in bands rarely exceeding a hundred, and exercising their industry as tinkers, fortune-tellers, and thieves, as they did in the remainder of Europe, where the latter propensity soon deprived them of respect, and decrees were passed to banish them from several States, in which a persecution of them commenced, and they were put to death in great numbers. But they still led a roving

life, with the sole difference that they were obliged to conceal their habitual resorts in forests and desert places, instead of pitching their camps on the outskirts of every town and village, as they had done; offering thus the unprecedented spectacle of a foreign people infesting every country of Europe, without living in common with any nation, which cannot be said of the Jews, for they are always to be found where the haunts of men are most crowded.

When they first came to Wallachia, the Gipsies called their chiefs and leaders by the Slavonic title of *Voïvodes*, and it has been retained in other countries, although they also talk of their ancient knights, counts, dukes, and even kings;—Duke Michael being one of the most distinguished, perhaps identical with the Wallachian prince, Michael the Brave; and King Zindelo being also much revered by them, as well as Count John, the great Duke Panuel, and the noble Knight Peter, to whose memory monuments have been erected. On the confines of Wallachia and Hungary, they still have *voïvodes*, dressed with tawdry splendour and loaded with precious stones. When one of them is elected, he is lifted three times from the ground in an open field, in order that the whole assembled tribe may see him; and then they utter wild screams of delight, and invest him with the insignia of his office, consisting of a large and heavy whip, of which their own shoulders are destined to feel the weight when they are convicted of any misdemeanour. The lineal descendants of *voïvodes* only are eligible, the hereditary and elective principles being thus combined; and they always choose a man of middle age and lofty stature, which with them inspires, and probably enforces, respect.

Their attachment to their chief is so great that, when he is held responsible for any of their thefts, the offender immediately confesses and surrenders himself into the hands of justice, to save the *voïvode*; and this mode of discovering crime among them is frequently practised by the authorities.

The Gipsies do not seem to have brought any religion with them to Europe, and they readily adopted that of the country through which they passed; those who came to Wallachia by the provinces of Asia Minor, then subject to the Turks, being Mahometans, and others, who had travelled over the dominions of the Greek empire, having embraced Christianity; but in general, even now, they do not believe in the immortality of the soul, and their philosophy is wholly material. At first there was a community of everything among them; and they then, by all accounts, supplied an apt example of the effects of some of the doctrines on society, now fashionable among the French; and if Proudhon, Considérant, and others, would investigate the moral state the Gipsies were in, when they came to Wallachia, and some time afterwards, they might lose conceit of the efficacy of their favourite theories. The Emperor Joseph of Austria is the only sovereign who ever attempted to restrain their excesses; but his philanthropic endeavours utterly failed;—in vain he educated their children, and did everything he could to reclaim them from their degraded habits; and, as far as vice is concerned, they are now very much in the same state as that in which they were when they came from the East nearly four centuries and a half ago.



In the west of Europe they have lost many of the customs and characteristics of their race; but in the Danubian provinces they seem still to be almost what they were in the 15th century. They are strong, well-built, handsome, and very swarthy; excellent musicians, thieves by nature and by profession, averse to agriculture, given to chiromancy; fond of poisoning cattle, and of begging for the carcasses, on which they feed; and capable of selling a stolen horse, mule, or donkey to its owner, after changing its colour. Their dress is generally worn without change until it falls off their persons in rags too much tattered to be kept together any longer. They are great talkers, passionate and violent, and they are incorrigible drunkards. So cruel is their disposition, that they take the greatest delight in performing the functions of public executioners, and that revolting office is generally held by them.

In 1782 even a case of cannibalism was proved against them; it was minutely investigated by a commission sent by the government for that purpose; and forty-five of them were executed at Kameza and Esabrag, after confessing their crime, and specifying that sons had killed and eaten their fathers, that eighty-four travellers had been waylaid and devoured by them in the course of a few years, and that, on one occasion, at a marriage feast, three of the guests had been put to death, and cooked for the entertainment of the remainder. All this was legally proved; and several old Spanish writers also accuse them of being cannibals. Nothing of this kind is heard of now-a-days among them, but petty offences are rife, and they are often to be seen undergoing a punishment partaking



somewhat of the nature of our stocks, but portable ; as it consists of a heavy cleft stick, which clasps their neck and arms ; probably a remnant of the Roman fork as described by Dionysius. They are not communists now, as they are slaves, being bought at about 10*l.* each ; but not often in public ; and, by the payment of a tax to government varying from 10*s.* to 3*l.* per annum for every adult male, whole tribes of them escape servitude, and wander about. This capitation tax is generally paid in grains of gold which they find in the auriferous sand of the Wallachian and Moldavian streams. They separate the precious metal from the sand by placing sheep-skins in the current, which are then washed in troughs of lime-wood about five feet long and two in breadth ; several channels run along them to convey the lighter particles out of them, and the grains of gold remain in the wool, from which they are carefully extracted. May not this be a vestige of an ancient practice of Colchis, and explain the golden fleece that poor Jason took so much trouble about ?

The Gipsies' huts in Wallachia are constructed by digging holes in sloping ground ; a few branches with sods form the roof, and the side where the level is lowest is closed by a coarse woollen curtain, serving as door, window, and chimney. As human dwelling-places, I never saw anything that could in the least be compared to them, excepting some of the cabins of Connaught.

In the course of my inquiries regarding the Gipsies in Wallachia, I conversed with several learned men on the subject, and found that the same opinion with regard to their real origin is now prevalent there, which is

generally received with us. An anecdote was mentioned to me of an English gentleman, who had been long in India, having sent for a blacksmith to mend his carriage at a post station near Bucharest, where it had broken down, and, when he saw the Gipsy countenance, he had addressed him in Hindostanee; the blacksmith kissed his hand with the greatest respect, and congratulated him on having succeeded in attaining wealth and rank, instead of continuing to lead the roving and wretched life of his tribe, wherever it might be, as he took him for a brother Gipsy. And I was told that the language they speak among themselves in Wallachia contains eleven or twelve words of pure Hindostanee in thirty of their own, which fact upset the belief in their Egyptian origin, and substituted that of their belonging to the Malabar race. They bear the name of Tsingani all over the Turkish empire, and scholastic Greeks have attempted to trace it to that of the Attingani, a remnant of which sect of heretics they conjectured might have reached the Danubian plain: others attributed to them a connexion with the African Zeugitana, or the city of Singara in Mesopotamia, from which they might have been driven by Julian the Apostate; and they were also supposed to be the Canaanites expelled by Joshua from the Mauritanian Tingitane; while their habit of addressing each other "*more*," gave rise to a theory of their being the Amorites, which is, however, solely owing to their passage through the Greek empire, where it is a common interjection. They were even called the lost tribes of Israel, who had renounced, or affected to renounce, their Mosaic faith during the persecution of the Jews in the

middle ages, or the Tatars of Timur, who invaded Western Asia in 1401, or a portion of the followers of Gengis Khan. But all these surmises have been refuted by several erudite Greeks, who studied the subject, and identified the name of Tsingani with Tsincali, which the Wallachian Gipsies explained to be, "the black men of the Tsend, Scinde, or Jud," leaving thus beyond a doubt the fact that they had come from Hindostan on its being ravaged by the conqueror Timur Beg, in 1408 and 1409.

Another circumstance tended to strengthen this solution of the problem, which was that, on their first appearance in Wallachia, they possessed gold and precious stones, and paid for everything they received: they must therefore have been a people saving themselves and their property from an enemy; and there was no other invasion at that particular time which could be reconciled with their circumstances, whereas that of Timur Beg coincides perfectly, as it is recorded that 100,000 of the natives were put to death by him, and all who could be taken were enslaved; which facts would account for the flight of great numbers of people, so notoriously unwarlike, that it is impossible to suppose they could ever have emigrated on an aggressive expedition. They probably went through the southern parts of Persia to the mouth of the Euphrates, and through Arabia to Egypt, whence they may have passed by Palestine and Asia Minor to Constantinople and the Danubian provinces, where they first rested in a body, only a few having remained in Egypt, to prove, by their still being found in the same nomadic state there, that

they had come from a more distant land. For what ultimate purpose it is ordained that they shall thus wander, century after century, defying all the effects and influences of the civilization of other nations with which they come in contact, is still a mystery. But, as their number appears now to be rapidly decreasing, it is probable that, ere many hundred years more shall have passed over their heads, they will have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth as a separate race.

The number of Jews in the Danubian principalities is also very considerable, the proportion to the remainder of the population being as one to nine. At Bucharest they are always to be seen wandering about the streets with hurried steps, and quick unsettled glances, penetrating every one, and judging where there is most to be gained. When they think they have a chance of profit, they fall upon their prey, and offer to do anything he likes for nothing, buy or sell equally at an immense loss, or act as broker at his own expense, in business of vast commercial importance, or of the most menial and immoral description, with the same alacrity. A few of them are eminent bankers and rich money-changers, but the great majority devote themselves especially to the service of foreigners and travellers by keeping inns and acting as guides. Most of them speak German. They are extremely rigorous in the observance of their religious ordinances and traditional customs; and their uncompromising faith, burdened with trivial prejudices, successfully prohibits their eating with unwashed hands, but it does not succeed in keeping those hands, though washed, from picking and stealing: they will not cook



your food at the inn or light your fire on a Saturday ; but they do not hesitate on any other day to make you pay ten times its value, and to chicane you in every possible, and almost impossible, fashion, so ingenious is their avidity. In trade they are formidable competitors of every nation and class, for they live so abstemiously, and practise so many little artifices for the gaining and saving of money, that they can always undersell and overpurchase all others. Thus almost the entire commerce of the country, both great and small, is in their hands ; but they have a strong predilection for the fur trade, which they have completely monopolised,—and it is a very extensive one in this country. Industrious and persevering in their pursuit of wealth, they never seek it by simple labour, commencing always by petty traffic and usury, which require little physical exertion.

The principal banker of Bucharest, a man worth millions, was selling matches in the streets not very many years ago. They are not, as in Russia, obliged to serve in the army ; but there is little loss in this to the protection of the Turkish empire, if the anecdote be true, that, when Sultan Selim once made the attempt to form his Israelitish subjects into regiments, 10,000 of them were ordered to march, and they petitioned for an escort of Turks to enable them to pass in safety through a district infested with robbers, the degenerate descendants of the heroic companions of Joshua and Josephus were disbanded in consequence of their pusillanimity.

The Jews of Wallachia cling to their ignorance, as they fear that every attempt to instruct them is dictated by projects of conversion ; and they love filth, because they

think that the loathsome disease which it generates, does them good by purifying their blood. A missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews is attempting to reclaim them from this abject condition, and his praiseworthy efforts, as well as the influence of his estimable character, may have some effect on them, for the Reverend Mr. Mayers is a most worthy man. They are still persecuted by the Christians, as their kindred in Western Europe were during the dark ages; and at all great fasts and festivals of the Church, such as Christmas and Good Friday, they are obliged to shut themselves up in the dread of violence.

The Jews' quarter was formerly barricaded at night by the closing of strong gates, but this is no longer the case. A curious custom then prevailed: a long wire or rope formed a circle round the roofs of the outermost houses, called in Hebrew the *Aïreph*; within it they were allowed to carry about what they pleased on the Sabbath, but not beyond that sort of barrier, to prevent smuggling in contravention of the Mosaic law; they were sure that their day of rest would not be desecrated in their own quarter by traffic, and the conscientious Jews were seen tying even their pocket-handkerchiefs round their arms when they emerged from the *Aïreph*, in order that they might not be accused before their rulers of hawking anything for sale. They prayed to the full moon, in those days, firmly believing that they would be saved from sickness or death during the month by so doing. They seem to have settled on the Moldo-Wallachian plains like a flight of locusts, so much do they swarm in every little town. They were necessary to the

lazy Boyars, by whose extravagance they enriched themselves, and they suffered every species of contumely and contempt in order to amass wealth. Proverbially slippery in their dealings, their word is always at a discount, and the price of their services or wares is made to depend on the rank or appearance of the customer : a constant warfare is thus sustained between them and their employers, and the Jews are the most dissatisfied class of the population in consequence, for they are always grumbling against their superiors ; if they are ill paid, they complain ; and if they succeed in obtaining a high price, their exultation is damped by regret at not having asked for more. They are essentially malcontents, and decidedly democrats, but they are too timid to be seriously troublesome ; they exercised, however, in Wallachia, as they did in Hungary during the Magyar struggle, a powerful influence in favour of revolutionary changes ; and indeed it appears that they have always played a part on the side of liberal institutions in every country of Europe where such questions have of late been tried by an appeal to arms, their command of specie giving them a degree of importance comparatively unfelt in piping times of peace.

Two great distinctions exist among the Jews in Wallachia, the Askernazim and the Sephardim. The former had migrated to Germany, and thence took refuge in Poland at the time of the Crusades, when the persecution on the part of the Christians was at its height ; no less than 2,000,000 of them remained there, and a portion of their descendants entered Moldavia and Wallachia. The latter, having settled in Spain and

Portugal, were expelled with the Moors, and came to the Ionian Isles and Constantinople, whence a considerable number of them reached the banks of the Danube. The two classes are distinguished chiefly by their language, the one speaking German, and the other Spanish.

The Askernazim were better treated by the Poles than by any other European nation, especially in the time of Casimir the Great, who had married a Jewess, and she, like Esther, made him another Ahasuerus in his conduct towards her people; but the Sephardim prospered still more under the Mahometans, and they look down on the other class at Bucharest with contempt, although the Montefioris, Ricardos, and Aguados, with whom they may claim kindred, be eclipsed by the Rothschilds, Goldsmids, and Foulds, who are the boast of the Askernazim in the aristocracy of wealth, which is the only nobility prized by the Jew. These two great races of the children of Israel in Wallachia are divided into four sects: the Talmudic, or those who believe in the Talmud; the Chassidim, or very holy, who reject it; the Caraïs, who are the most moral of the Jews, and resemble the Quakers among Christians; and the Frankists, who entertain the peculiar doctrine of the meritoriousness of assuming the outward forms of other religions, for the purpose of better deceiving the Goim, or Gentiles. The two former are by far the most numerous at Bucharest, and they are more actuated by hatred of Christians than are the two latter.

The Caraïs are like the Scribes of old, for they adhere strictly to the written law alone, and disallow all tradi-



tion; they speak Greek, German, and Spanish, indiscriminately, and mingle with them all, a jargon of the Turkish and other Tatar languages which they brought with them from the Crimea, several hundred years ago; but I failed in my efforts to ascertain the exact period and circumstances of their emigration. They are the only branch of the Jewish population in Wallachia which ever devotes itself to agricultural pursuits. The Frankists are the most Jesuitical of the Jews, if such an expression be admissible: they sneeringly taunt the Wallachians by asserting that several of their *caste* have held high ecclesiastical rank in the Eastern Christian Church, and I believe also in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches of Austria and Prussia; and they even claim the House of Hapsburgh to be Frankist Jews, descended from a pedlar who went to Switzerland in the ninth century, as well as one of the ancient kings of Spain, whom, however, they do not seem to identify.

These wanderers of eighteen centuries wear a flowing Eastern costume at Bucharest. Their unmarried women have their heads uncovered; but wives and widows wear a handkerchief, generally of a bright yellow colour, over their jet-black hair, or a cap edged with fur. They are rarely handsome, and the prominent eye, the eagle nose, and heavy lips, are as remarkable in the streets of Bucharest on a Saturday morning, as they are on the walls of the tomb at Thebes, where the Israelites are represented making bricks under the lash of their taskmasters.

Another distinct class of the population of Wallachia is the Saxon race, which is constantly on the move, exercising various crafts and trades on the Danubian plain,

and then carrying their profits over the Carpathian mountains to their adopted home in Transylvania. Some suppose this colony, now 500,000 in number, to be the descendants of the Saxons whom Charlemagne removed from the north of Germany, and identify them with the strangers mentioned in history as having assisted Bega Gujza, King of Hungary, to repulse the invasion of Conrade, Emperor of the Romans, and Henry, Duke of Austria, in the thirteenth century. Others believe them to have come to Transylvania at the time of the Reformation, when many Germans fled from the first persecution of the followers of Luther; and this seems to be the most likely explanation of their being so far from their native regions. They thus took up their position on the confines of Christendom, where the armies of the Prophet could no more reduce them to submission than the tortures of the Inquisition had done; and they finally obtained great privileges for their aid in the wars of Hungary against the Turks. They were always considered as free citizens: they were allowed to elect their own municipal authorities, and they retained the Protestant religion. The seven towns, which they inhabit, are subject to no taxes, excepting those which are self-imposed for local purposes. They are tall, strongly built, and handsome,—well-clad and always at work; and their fair complexion and high cheek-bones mark them at once as a northern people among the motley population of Bucharest.

Last in the catalogue come the Sekui, or Secklers, as the Germans call them. There seems to be little doubt that they derive their name from the ancient Siculi, of

whom a colony had been planted by Trajan ; and one of the largest districts of Wallachia is still peopled by them, and takes its distinctive appellation from them. They are almost exclusively shepherds, and lead their flocks over the steppes for months together, without holding communication with any human being, excepting, perhaps, an occasional sporting party in search of bustards and wolves. They often kill the latter themselves, and then they have a practice which I have seen also in Greece ; they carry the skin on a pole round all the villages within reach, and knock at the door of every proprietor of live-stock, who is obliged to present them with a small piece of money. They are good soldiers ; and the best hussars in the Austrian army are recruited from the Secklers of Transylvania. It was a squadron of Secklers that executed that most unparalleled violation of international law which resulted in the attack on the plenipotentiaries of the French Republic at Rastadt, and in the assassination of Roberjot. They are clothed in skins, and being innocent of all linen, they anoint themselves with mutton fat. In appearance they are dusky, short, fierce, and by no means prepossessing. They have been compared to the Cossacks of the Don and the Ukraine ; but they are evidently a much inferior race, all the Slavonian tribes being an infinitely finer people than those of Latin origin.

## CHAPTER XIV.

BUCHAREST—WALLACHIAN HOUSES—NEW CHURCH—CLERGY—RELIGION—  
MONASTERIES—HOSPITALS—TURKISH TROOPS—HALIM PASHA AND HIS  
OFFICERS—RUSSIAN TROOPS—GENERAL HASFORD AND HIS OFFICERS—  
RUSSIAN COMMISSARIAT—WALLACHIAN MILITIA—HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

THE chief town of Wallachia is built on the river Dimbovitza, one of the smaller tributaries of the Danube. The seat of government was at Tirgovisht in the seventeenth century, and the Hospodar, Constantine Brancovano, determined on removing it from those mountainous regions to the centre of the great plain. He selected for that purpose a village situated in a marsh; and, as it belonged to a Boyar of the name of Buchar, he gave it the name of Buchoreshti, and transported the capital to it in the year 1698. It cannot, therefore, be expected that a city only a century and a half old should possess much interest; and there are but few buildings deserving of notice in a historical point of view. The most remarkable, or rather the least insignificant, is the tower of Colza, which I visited with a most agreeable party of friends. It was built by the Swedes who remained at Bucharest after the defeat of the army of Charles XII. in 1709, when that formidable foe of the aggrandizement of Russia laid his sword across the road leading from Moscow to Constantinople, and when, unfortunately for



the destinies of Europe in general, that good sword was broken at Pultava. The tower itself is merely the gateway of an hospital, and offers nothing striking in its architecture.

There are so many churches at Bucharest that the devout may pray in a different one every day of the year, even if it be a leap-year; for they number no less than 366. Few of them, however, merit notice.

The metropolitan church was founded by Prince Constantine Brancovano, on a height commanding a panoramic view of the town: it is built in the Byzantine style; but neither rich in ornament, nor graceful in proportions, though it is large in dimensions. A public walk has been laid out with a double row of trees leading to it; and this, with the beauty of the site, forms its sole attraction, excepting always as a place of worship.

The monasteries of Radu Voda, built by the Hospodar Alexander II. and repaired by Rudolph the Black, whose name was given to it; and of Sarandar, founded by Prince Matthew Bassarabba, are mere quadrangles, surrounded by cloisters, with a church similar to the metropolitan in the centre; and beyond the walls of the town the two convents of Kotrotszeni, which was a summer residence of Prince Sherban Cantacuzene, and Vakareshiti, where the princes halt in state, before entering the capital on their return from the ceremony of investiture at Constantinople, are immense buildings, without taste or character of any kind. Indeed, the Wallachians do not seem to shine as architects now, more than they did a century and a half ago; such tawdry tinsel cornices and plaster pillars adorn their

new residences, so inferior in comfort to our English houses with their homely red-brick faces; and such ostentation mingled with untidiness: a Greek peristyle of Corinthian columns may occupy one side of a courtyard, for instance, and opposite it may be a range of stabling, sheds and dunghills; a marble terrace, on which linen is hung out to dry; and a housemaid's broom enjoying a sinecure in the principal lobby, with a duster always hanging over the rosewood bannisters of the great staircase.

And the Wallachians are fond of building, too; with some whom I know it is a monomania; not an unnatural one, to be sure, when the half of the town had just been burnt to the ground. They were never satisfied, and their constant occupation consisted in pulling down to reconstruct,—in adding on one side, and altering on the other.

But what appeared to me the most extraordinary, was the utter ignorance of all principles of architecture manifested by those amateur builders. They were generally to be seen living in houses, which they had rendered nearly uninhabitable, and which had respectively cost as much as one three times the size would, when built at once, and on a determinate plan. The combinations of rooms, passages, and staircases being unlimited, they were always attempting new ones, and usually, instead of progressive amelioration, they arrived at inextricable confusion. One old Boyar, in particular, was a most unmitigated old bore in this respect; he was constantly scratching rectangles and parallelograms on scraps of paper, until he became so bewildered that he no longer

knew how to get either into his house or out of it ; in the middle of a conversation at an evening party, he would start up to measure the height of a door, or the breadth of a window ; and on visiting a friend, although announced, he would not appear, but would be found when sought for, computing the arch of a cellar, or pacing a poultry-yard. And, after all, he commenced building on a worse plan than his first one ; and his enormous mansion, if it be ever completed, will remain as a monument of folly and conceit, to demonstrate that, in every application of human knowledge, success can be attained only through special study. They were rebuilding a church, which had been destroyed during the great fire, in the main street called the *Podomogoshi*, and the incorrigible blunderers, instead of imitating those lovely gems of Byzantine architecture scattered with such profusion all over the East, which are in harmony with the colouring and with the climate of the country, were erecting a tall, cold, gothic structure, that looked like a foreigner staring at the natives, and, to accomplish this practical solecism, they were spending an enormous sum of money. But the churches, prelates, and religious communities, are rich in Wallachia, though the great majority of the priesthood be poor in the extreme.

The Clergy of Wallachia are governed by the Metropolitan Archbishop of Bucharest, whose appointment is independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, as he is virtually nominated by the Hospodar, although in form he is elected by the Boyars ; but he recognises the superiority of rank belonging to the Patriarch. They are



secular or monastic, according to their vows : most of them belong to the latter class, as high preferment in the Church is open only to it ; and they are almost all without education, and taken from the lowest grades of society. Secular priests may marry once. The rank of *Protopresbyter* is the highest which they can attain. The Monastic Clergy are classed in different ranks besides those of Priests and Deacons, which are common to both distinctions. The lowest are the *Hiero-monachoi*, or simple Friars ; the next are the *Hegoumenoi*, or Priors ; and above them come the *Archi-mandritai*, or Abbots, and the *Episcopoi* and *Archiepiscopoi*, or Bishops and Archbishops, and the Metropolitans. The plurality of livings is unknown ; and the clergy are not paid by tithes. The congregation meets in the body of the church on a perfect footing of equality, the serf beside his lord ; they stand or kneel, but do not sit, as they have no sermons ; and females occupy the *gynæceum*, which is a latticed gallery facing the altar. No musical instruments are used, but the chanting and singing of the psalms is sometimes admirable. The vestments of the officiating priests and the decorations of the temple are gorgeous and splendid, though without good taste.

The Bible was first printed in the vernacular tongue of Wallachia, under the Hospodar Constantine Mavrocordato, in the year 1735, when he invented an alphabet for the purpose, as that language had not been previously written : he composed it of Greek and Slavonic letters, official documents having been transcribed before his time in the Slavonic character alone, which but ill conveyed the sounds of Rumoon words. Like the remainder



of the Eastern Christian Church, of which it is a branch, the Church of Wallachia differs little from that of Rome in the important precepts influencing general conduct, for their doctrinal controversies are chiefly of an abstruse nature. It adheres to the first seven General Councils, and maintains that the Holy Ghost proceeds, not from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone; it does not allow indulgences before omissions of duty, but admits of full absolution afterwards; it denies the existence of a purgatory; it does not acknowledge the infallibility of the priesthood; and it rejects the worship of images, though praying before them is permitted. Baptism is by immersion alone. Divorce is easy on the simple plea of aversion, and even of preference for another; and in society, persons, who have been married, meet amicably and without restraint. At funerals, the coffin is open, and the corpse decked in a gaudy dress, with flowers around the head. Leavened bread is used, and wine unmixed with water, at the Holy Communion, and they are administered in both kinds. The corporeal presence is admitted. The habitual fasts are on Wednesdays, as well as on Fridays, because our Lord announced his betrayal on a Wednesday. The people confess to the priests, they venerate saints, and they pray to the Blessed Virgin. They have three daily services, early in the morning, before noon, and at sunset. The old Julian calendar is used instead of the more correct Gregorian, or new style.

The monasteries of Markutsa and Panteleimon, near Bucharest, are large establishments, and have the advantage of being finely situated; but the latter has a

stronger claim on our admiration than any princely or monastic palace, for it has been converted into a noble hospital, richly endowed by the family of the ex-Hospodar Ghika; it is creditably kept, and attended by efficient medical men. There is also in the town an extensive infirmary, supported exclusively at the expense of the Brancovano family.

The best hospital I saw at Bucharest, was that of the Turkish army of occupation. In cleanliness and ventilation it surpassed anything of the kind that has as yet come under my notice; and it was so well ordered in every respect, that there are few regimental surgeons of my acquaintance in Her Majesty's service, who would not derive advantage from the study of its arrangements.

I also had an opportunity of seeing the Turkish troops reviewed. There was a regiment of dragoons, six battalions of infantry, and a field-battery of six guns. The cavalry was of the lightest description, and the horses seemed to be too highly fed, and too spirited, to admit of great regularity in their movements; but, to counter-balance these defects, they display a degree of quickness of evolution which would astonish our lancers with their tall chargers. The infantry was steady, and manœuvred well, but the men were most remarkably young; their average age could hardly exceed twenty-three, and their height about five feet eight; they formed line three deep, and were rather old-fashioned in their manual exercise; but their file-firing of blank cartridge was excellent, and in general their greatest merit seemed to be rapidity rather than precision. The artillery were beyond all praise. A better *matériel* could not exist,

and it would be impossible to handle it more perfectly. I went to see the barracks. The men, as well as the horses, are too well fed; their dinner was as tempting, as the sort of overgrown gentleman's stables, in which I saw the cavalry chargers and artillery horses, were neat and airy. The soldiers' rooms had neither tables nor benches, and the beds being arranged along the floors, they looked very different from our barracks, but they were quite as comfortable according to the Oriental ideas of comfort.

The officers treated me with the greatest urbanity, showed me everything, and took me into their rooms to smoke long pipes and drink thimblefuls of coffee. I met several of them afterwards at the hospitable table of the Turkish Commissioner, Ahmed Vefyk Effendi. There was Halim Pasha, the Lieutenant-General commanding, a little man, full of fun, and most affable with his inferiors, though considered somewhat severe on matters of duty: Mahmud Pasha was the Major-General, rather too stout to be much of a soldier, but good-humoured, and by no means affecting a warlike bearing, which his military services would not have warranted, as those of Halim Pasha did; then there was Colonel Ismael Bey, a gallant soldier, a thoroughly good officer, and an excellent fellow, who commands the 4th Regiment of the Guards; and Colonel Emin Bey, a most amusing man, and an experienced artillery officer, but qualified by his comrades as a fastidious disciplinarian,—which little failing, if it be one, is excusable in a Colonel who has his detachment in such tiptop order; Muhiedim Bey, the Town-Major, a most gentlemanly young man, and said to be a promising



officer ; and Akif Bey, the Surgeon-Major, a medical man who talked well on professional subjects, both in French and in German, and a great favourite with the garrison. And then there was my own particular chum, good old Yusuf Bey, the Colonel who had behaved so well in Bulgaria shortly before I went there ; though past sixty years of age, he had the health and spirits of a boy ; a Georgian by birth, and as black as a mulatto ; but a fine-looking man, and the very picture of a sterling soldier, true to the back-bone, and bold as a lion. He was the very life and soul of many a friendly party thus composed.

The Russian troops had frequent field-days on the plain of Colintina, which stretches from the north-east gate of the town, to the country-house and burial-place of the Hospodar Gregory Ghika, prettily situated on the wooded bank of a small lake, at a distance of about three miles. I was present on several occasions when their regiment of lancers, eight battalions of infantry, and a park of artillery, were brigaded. They went admirably through that most difficult of all manœuvres, advancing in line ; but they were all old soldiers ; their cavalry horses were lean, large, and heavy-looking brutes. The lancers made a poor show ; the artillery better, but wretchedly slow ; the infantry pleased me very much, until they commenced their light drill, when I could hardly believe my eyes. No one seemed to be aware of the first principles of skirmishing, from the General down to the private, for battalion after battalion was allowed to go on in the same way without a single remark ; the two ranks of each file made no attempt to cover each



other in advancing and retreating ; in fact, they generally moved together ; they fired and stood to be fired at, instead of discharging their shot when they were about to move ; and then they halted to load, and that anywhere. Our Rifle Brigade would make short work of such skirmishers ; every one of them would be picked off as soon as they extended.

The Russian soldiers are not nearly so well clothed as those of the Turkish regular army ; their heavy green coats are so much more cumbersome than the light jacket ; their cross-belts are longer and not so well put on, the pouch being thus apt to rattle about when they are at double time ; and the helmets, though better for defence, are clumsy and much more fatiguing to wear than the fez. It is a great mistake to impede the movements of a soldier in order that he may be protected, as the Knights did of old with their armour ; and, by enabling him to go through more work, the efficiency of an army is increased in a greater ratio than it can be by the number of killed and wounded in action being diminished ever so much.

I saw the barracks of a Russian regiment, too, but it was when I expected it the least, for I thought I was visiting the Wallachian University. The fact was, that the College of Saint Sava, library, museum, and all, had been converted into a receptacle for a portion of the unwelcome army of occupation, instead of continuing to be the temple of learning ; and the students and professors had given place to the soldier-slaves of the Czar. Such a den of filth I never saw ; an offensive odour of melted tallow candles, used as sauce for sour black bread, in the

absence of their much-loved train-oil ; and damp straw strewn about for the miserable-looking, cowed, half-famished warriors to sleep upon. No wonder that the mortality among them was so great.

The Russian officers do not live in barracks, but occupy the best houses in Bucharest, which their proprietors are obliged to give up to those of high rank ; while captains and subalterns are billeted on private families, not always willing to receive such guests. They belonged invariably to one of two classes of men ; either rough and ready campaigners, or fops fit only to wear lemon-coloured gloves ; and hardly one of those I had an opportunity of judging, was what we would call a gentlemanlike man. They were almost all dissipated and notorious gamblers, living on the Wallachians in every imaginable way ; one of them, for instance, having already won 15,000*l.* from them at the game of *Lansquenet*. Lieutenant-General Hasford, the Commander-in-Chief, and the same who was defeated at Hermannstadt in the Hungarian war, by Bem, is a fair-haired, bull-headed, unmeaning-faced sort of individual, supposed to be a very intelligent man, but never doing or saying anything to prove it. His two Major-Generals, Dick and Comar, were only remarkable, the one as being the elderly husband of a very pretty wife, and the other for having risen to his present rank in spite of his belonging to a good Polish family, whether that be a merit or the contrary. None of the other officers rose above obscurity, excepting through exploits which, however characteristic they may be both of Russia and of Wallachia, would hardly suit English

readers ; and although describing Bucharest without alluding to that subject, is somewhat like the play of Hamlet acted with the part of the noble Dane left out, still I think that the less that is said about it the better.

Russia, of her own good pleasure, sends an army into a neighbouring empire in time of peace, and obliges the subjects of a potentate, who is ostensibly her ally, to maintain her soldiers ; but she does not reflect that, by showing them abroad for any length of time, their weak points are discovered. It is not in a two months' campaign in Hungary that Russia meets with any real difficulties, for she has men and they fight ; but, when they fall on the resources of her corrupt and incompetent Commissariat department, it is then that her armies melt away like hoarfrost before the rising sun. I, for one, saw enough of the Russian troops at Bucharest to explain most fully to me how the Emperor lost 150,000 men and 50,000 horses in the war of 1828 and 1829, only a small proportion of these having been killed in battle or having died of their wounds. This subject appears to me, not to be rightly appreciated, and yet it is far from being unimportant. Some people say that Russia is all-powerful, and will eventually swallow us up. Others descant on the fictitious character of her power, and contend that she cannot bring 100,000 men into the field ; that her climate protects the country, but prevents it from becoming great ; that the Empire will ultimately fall to pieces because it is not homogeneous ; and that Russia can conquer, but does not possess the art of consoli-



dating her conquests and assimilating to herself the territory she annexes; in short, "*qu'elle mange, mais ne digère pas.*" In my humble opinion, both these views of the case are fallacious. Russia is perhaps the only power in the world which has never retrograded; and I think it is because she thoroughly knows what she can do, and never makes the attempt until she is certain of success. Now, she can do much in a short war, but she cannot protract it, beyond her frontiers, without loss. Her armies are numerous and well disciplined, and, above all, they are guided by a spirit of union which pervades the great mass of the nation; and this is a powerful element of victory as well as of consolidation. The events of 1812 proved how strong this feeling is amongst the Russians, and not only that it is strong, but also that it is stronger than in most other countries, which may have to struggle against it.

When Buonaparte invaded Austria, subjugated Prussia, and attacked Holland,—when he took possession of Spain, dethroned the House of Braganza in Portugal, and overran Italy,—there were many, both of the distinguished and of the insignificant among the population of those States, who cheered him on, and even openly aided him in his career of conquest, and spoliation of their native countries; but, when 325,000 soldiers, and nearly 1,000 pieces of artillery entered Russia under the command of the greatest captain of the age, not one individual was found among the 60,000,000 of inhabitants of Russia, either high or low, who ever desisted from exerting himself to the utmost, and in every possible manner, for the purpose of raising obstacles in the way of the unpro-



voked aggressor, from the day when his eagles first appeared triumphantly within the Russian frontier to that on which he himself hurriedly abandoned them, when they had recrossed it, only 80,000 in number. The Russian troops thus succeeded in resisting "*la grande armée*" of the "*grand Napoleon*," and the Empire, far from showing a want of consolidation, kept together; aided, it is true, by the rigours of the climate, but still the inhabitants of every different race displayed a degree of union and accord which astonished that experienced invader, whose plan of a campaign always comprised a scheme of action on the population. His own artful bulletins prove this latter fact, as well as the exception in favour of Russia: in those of other wars his constant boast had been that his armies were enthusiastically joined by great bodies of the natives, but on this occasion he kept a significant silence, even when indulging in a vain prophecy, more applicable to himself than to his enemy, in the second bulletin of his invasion, which contained these words: "*La Russie est entraînée par la fatalité! Ses destinées vont s'accomplir.*" It would have been too gross a falsehood even for Buonaparte's despatches, had he ventured then to follow his customary practice, although he had the assurance, after his return, to say of Russia to his senate:—"*J'aurais pu armer la plus grande partie de sa population contre elle-même en proclamant la liberté des esclaves, qu'un grand nombre de villages m'avaient demandée.*" And, situate as he was, can any one suppose for a moment that he would not have done so if he could? Why did he not do so? Not one of his

senators dared to ask him that home question, for he was no longer the crest-fallen invader, flying before a justly indignant people on the frozen plains of Russia; he had recovered his irresistible ascendancy over the credulous Parisians on the 18th of December.

Russia could, therefore, defend herself against this formidable invasion, and she could defeat a numerous army of warlike Magyars in a short campaign beyond her frontiers, but she could not keep the field in the campaign of the Pruth; she was very glad to conclude the treaty of Bucharest; she was in a great hurry to get across the Balkans and make peace at Adrianople, which she never could have done if Sultan Mahmud had not been deserted by Mustapha Pasha of Scodra, the Serbs, and the Bosniacs; and she thought herself fortunate in achieving the treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi, and in being able to recall her troops, without fighting the army of Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt. All this is because she cannot provision large bodies of men abroad; she knows it well, and she, therefore, abstains from undertaking any enterprise which involves that necessity. Russia has covetousness, and she has troops, but she has not yet been able to organize a Commissariat department. Every colonel speculates on the food and clothing of his regiment; so much so that his promotion to the rank of Major-General is regarded as a positive misfortune; and every surgeon makes handsome profits on the supply of medicines for his corps. Hunger, cold, and sickness, thus become the allies of any power at war with Russia, for no army in the world suffers so much hardship as the poor emaciated creatures who fight for the Czar

abroad. I had ample proofs of the fact at Bucharest, where I saw two Russian Brigades that had served in the Hungarian campaign; and I mention it because in my mind apparent contradictions are thus accounted for, and I have never seen it brought forward so strongly as its importance deserves; that importance being self-evident, when one reflects what would be in store for Europe and a great part of Asia, if the ambition of Russia were no longer fettered by this radical defect in her military system.

Wallachia has also her army. It is called the Militia, and it consists of a regiment of lancers 1,200 strong, and three regiments of infantry of 1,173 men each, the whole strength of the militia being thus 4,719. They are fine-looking men on parade; but the Wallachians are not warlike, and it is not probable that they would distinguish themselves if they were taken into action. In 1848 the Provisional Government endeavoured to oppose the entrance of the Turkish troops into Bucharest, but the only Wallachian corps which made a good fight of it was a body of firemen. They are drilled by Russian non-commissioned officers, and they seemed to get on very well; but this is not the only benefit derived from the occupation by the poor Wallachian soldiers, as I perceived one day: I was walking along the street, when I remarked two Turkish serjeants stop to look through the chinks of a paling enclosing a courtyard, and when I came up to them, they turned to me and pointed at what they saw, while they shook their heads and frowned. I put my eye to the chink, and there I beheld a Wallachian recruit between two Russian grenadiers, who were beating him



with rods, which fell alternately and most heavily on his poor shoulders. When the number awarded had been received, his hands were untied : he put on his stock and his jacket, and turned away without having uttered a word or a cry ; but he threw a glance of hatred and revenge at the windows of the Russian guard-house, behind which he had been flogged. “ Ah ! ” exclaimed one of the Turks, who had also remarked it ; and, as we could not communicate our respective impressions, otherwise than by signs, we exchanged deprecatory and indignant looks, and passed on.

The commander-in-chief of the Wallachian Militia is styled *Spathar*, or Sword-bearer, and he has a numerous staff and chancery to administer the military affairs of the province ; several of them are Russian officers. Recruits are raised by conscription, and by voluntary enlistment. The age prescribed is from twenty to thirty ; and the term of service is six years, the sixth part of the troops being annually discharged. Besides the Militia, there is an irregular Frontier Guard, furnished by the villages along the left bank of the Danube, and the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, 217 stations forming the former line, and 123 the latter. All the peasants of these villages, from twenty to fifty years of age, are obliged to serve without pay, and to provide their own arms, clothing, and food, in the proportion of four men to each station : in consideration of this sacrifice, 39,859 families are exempted from all taxes and forced labour. This force is also under the orders of the *Spathar*, who is considered as a sort of Minister at War.

The other heads of departments are the Grand *Vornik*



of the Interior, the Grand *Logothete* of Justice, the *Logothete* of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs, the *Vistiare*, or Treasurer, and the *Postelnik*, who is the Prince's secretary, and the channel of communication between him and the foreign Consuls. The origin of this title is curious; it means Postmaster, and it was the most important office under the Fanariote Hospodars, who were in the habit of keeping their sovereigns, the Sultans, constantly informed of what was passing at the European Courts; and frequently they paid with their lives for the incorrectness or delay of their intelligence. It was, therefore, of vital consequence to every newly appointed Hospodar to establish a correspondence at any price, with persons behind the scenes at Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and other great capitals, and to have his means of communication within the principalities rapid and safe, in order that he might receive and forward political intelligence before it could reach Constantinople by any other means. Hence the value of a good *Postelnik*, and the rapidity of post-travelling in Wallachia and Moldavia, which remains as a traditional result of the system, although the importance of the office has dwindled down to nothing. The post most sought after, although of inferior rank, is that of *Logothete* of Ecclesiastical Affairs, for, notwithstanding that the departments of the Interior, Public Justice, and Finance, offer ample opportunities for speculation and the receipt of bribes, these advantages are surpassed by the profits of the administration of Church property; then there is hardly any one who is not sometimes anxious to obtain assistance from the Ecclesiastical authorities,

whether it be to secure a divorce, to accomplish a marriage within the forbidden degrees, or to break a will, besides the long list of contracts for the tenure of monastic lands which enrich speculators, for the resources of the Wallachian Church are as inexhaustible as her jurisdiction is extended. There are, in fact, not more than 6,000 Roman Catholics, who are independent of the ecclesiastical department, as they have a Bishop of their own, who belongs to the diocese of Nicopolis, under the protection of Austria; and 1,000 Lutherans, who have also a Church and priests according to the foundation of Charles XII. of Sweden during his stay at Bender, which is still under the exclusive control of the Archbishop of Stockholm.

Bucharest is not a commercial town, and, as I was anxious to gain some insight into the state of trade in the two provinces, I determined on making a tour which should comprise the principal ports of both, and the chief town of Moldavia. I, therefore, made my preparations for accomplishing this journey accompanied only by a servant, leaving my little party again at the hôtel.

## CHAPTER XV.

ROAD TO IBRAILA—RIVER JALONITZA—IBRAILA—TRADE OF THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES.

POOR Pietro's head had been completely turned by the honours he received in Bulgaria. Like the cobbler in the Arabian Nights, he could not help quarrelling with his awl after he had been treated as a Caliph in Haroun al Raschid's palace; he could not forget the golden age of Widin, and descend to the hard rusty iron realities of Bucharest; and when I announced to him my intention of making another excursion, he intimated that he could not accompany me unless his emoluments were made adequate to his merits. In other words, he struck for wages after the approved manner of Manchester and Birmingham; but such a strike as Pietro's never was heard of in those matter-of-fact communities, for he coolly proposed that I should pay him at the rate of sixteen ducats, about eight pounds sterling, per month. In vain I reasoned with him on the exorbitance of this demand, and reminded him that I should find no difficulty in replacing him; Pietro would not go for less; I told him that in that case he should not go at all; and thus ended my connexion with poor Pietro, whom I pitied

as the victim of unexpected greatness more than I regretted being deprived of his services. His successor was a very diminutive Jew ; a sort of epitome of " the peoples ;" a Lilliputian " Old Clo." He could not have been less than twenty years of age, but in stature he did not exceed four feet six inches ; he had bright intelligent eyes, he spoke a little German, and he rejoiced in the patriarchal name of Jacob.

I resolved on trying to travel on springs this time, and I procured a Russian drosky, through the kindness of a friend. Jacob and I, therefore, started from Bucharest about sunset in the last fine weather of autumn, well muffled in our drosky, and drawn by eight post-horses with two postilions. At the gate of the town, a police-officer demanded my passport. After having examined it carefully for some time, probably without having been able to read a word of it, as it was in English, and the case was a new one for Wallachia, he gravely communicated his conviction that we had picked it up in the street, and that it had not been intended for us. Jacob, looking as fierce as a little Bantam cock, quickly replied that, whatever his conviction might be with regard to the document, that would alter nothing as to the fact that he would not succeed in getting anything from us, and he added with an air of grandeur, that he had better take care what he was about, as the " Dominus " inside was a Boyar of high distinction, and would not condescend to enter into a discussion with a policeman ; the latter then returned the passport, and directed the post-boys to drive on, shaking his head



in his retreat to his den, as if he felt that he had assumed a grave responsibility in allowing so suspicious a character to leave Bucharest. Our course was north-easterly, when we commenced the customary race over the plains, sometimes covered with wood, but more often bare and unbroken by any object on which to rest the eye. It was almost quite dark when we reached Mora Domnasca, the first village on our road, and we could scarcely distinguish a large country house, which is the property of one of the magnates of Wallachia. He had just been cutting the timber on his estate, and it was said that he had not made a very successful speculation of it; a contractor had offered him three thousand ducats for the wood at his own risk, but the proprietor would not agree, supposing that it must be worth six thousand if the half of that sum was proposed to him, and he had it cut on his own account, when he only realized one thousand for the produce. Such is the universal system of pillaging which pervades every branch of Wallachian industry.

Chindirliest was the first post-station, and it was full time that our horses should be changed, for, although there were no less than eight of them, and the carriage was very light, still the ground over which they dragged it, as it could hardly be called a road, was so exceedingly soft and heavy, that they were panting and exhausted.. Post-horses in Wallachia are not fed on any species of grain, but merely graze in summer, and eat hay in winter, which is low diet for hard work; and it is astonishing that so much is got out of them, especially as regards pace. After leaving this village we soon

passed another, which appeared, as the moon rose, prettily imbedded in wood on the banks of the river Jalonitza. Its name was Tsiganca. We crossed the stream, and followed its course for some time, but as it had evidently overflowed of late, we found that its vicinity was by no means satisfactory. The wheels sank to their axles in the mud, the horses refused to pull them out, the post-boys flogged and shouted in vain, the moon got behind some dark clouds as if on purpose to spite us, and our predicament became more and more aggravating. At last, a pull all together, both strong enough and long enough to place us on ground comparatively dry and hard, relieved us from further floundering in that marsh, but we soon commenced a fiercer struggle in another, more soft, more wet, and more deep, if possible, than the first. Here a new difficulty assailed us: one of our postilions suddenly changed his tone of angry menace, addressed to his horses, to one of dismal lamentation towards us. What was the matter? He could not articulate, so pitiful was his wailing. At last we made out from him that he was suffering acute pain; he was very ill, and must go immediately to the village of Tsiganca, whose fires were still glimmering among the trees; I offered to take him into the carriage, but he declined, and, although he could not ride, he was perfectly able to run, for he dismounted, and waded through the bog with the most surprising agility. What was to be done now? One man could never drive eight horses, unless, indeed, that one man were Ducrow himself,—and the banks of the Jalonitza are far from Astley's.

“ Oh ! it is nothing ! ” exclaimed little Jacob, as he rolled off the box and scrambled into the vacant saddle ; “ Ee hu ! ya ho ! ” shouted he more lustily than his predecessor, mingling his vocal noise with that of uninterrupted whip-cracking, for the knowing rogue of a post-boy had left his whip across the saddle. Away we rolled, out of the mud, over a bank, into a ditch, out of that again, and fairly on dry land at last, rattling along, all the horses at full gallop, and Jacob swearing in Wallachian, in German, and in Hebrew too I believe. Old Clo’ riding postilion was too much for my gravity, and I laughed so heartily that he turned round and responded by a shout of glee ; and very well he rode, too, flourishing his whip, holding up his four jaded brutes, and handling his reins as if he had never done anything else all his life.

It was past midnight when we reached Urtsicheni, the village where we were to change horses, as we had been five hours in going one stage of about twelve miles. After this we travelled until daylight over a vast *steppe*, going in a straight line for many hours at a rapid pace without the slightest change of level or interruption to our course, from Urtsicheni to the village of Metellio, and from Metellio to that of Tsougouyat. We came to the latter place in the morning, and crossed the river Chalmazni, on the banks of which it stands : thence to Faorin on the small lake of Sarat ; still no cultivation, but boundless pastures. I remarked a great number of *tumuli* on these plains with stone crosses placed on their summits, but my inquiries could elicit no infor-

mation on the subject. In the evening we arrived at the town of Ibraila.

This is a commercial town of considerable importance on the Danube. Its population amounts to 16,000, the shipping is numerous, and the exportation of grain is active. It was besieged and taken in three days by the Russian General Renne, during the campaign of the Pruth, but the report which he despatched to Peter the Great was intercepted by the Moldavian *Vornik*, Lupu, who was in the Turkish interests, and who forwarded it to the Grand Vezir. The Emperor was thus ignorant of the success of that expedition until after he had signed the fatal treaty of peace.

Ibraila was also besieged during the last war between the Russians and the Turks; the former lost three generals and 30,000 men, and the whole garrison of the latter was destroyed by the explosion of the mines. The fortifications, like those of Giurgevo, are completely dismantled in consequence of the terms of the treaty to that effect. There are some good new houses in the town, and the stores and warehouses are large. The streets are unpaved, however, and being very broad, the place looks comfortless and desolate.

After collecting as much information as I could on the subject of trade, the only one of any interest in Ibraila, I passed over the small plain which separates that commercial town from its sister-port, Galatz. The latter is situated between the rivers Sereth and Pruth, at their confluence with the Danube, the former of which



we crossed by a ferry, dividing the territory of the two principalities.

Galatz has 27,000 inhabitants, and seems to be a flourishing mart. Here I completed my study of the Danube trade.

The mercantile relations between the two principalities and the remainder of Turkey have been hitherto conducted exactly as between foreign states. This is injurious to both parties, as well as to the commercial interests of Great Britain, while it is profitable to Russia alone, who makes use of her political influence for the purpose of disuniting the Moldo-Wallachians from the Ottoman empire in circumstances and feelings, if not in fact.

That her unvarying policy has ever been to raise a barrier between the two banks of the Danube, cannot for a moment be doubted by any one who has turned his attention to the subject; and one of the means employed is the obstruction of commercial intercourse between their respective inhabitants. Russia exercises protection over the two principalities, whether legitimately or not has already been seen; and that protection is nominally extended to their trade, through the medium of her influence over the Boyars, although virtually its effects are eminently prejudicial to their best interests. Thus the produce of the right bank pays duty on entering the principalities; merchandise, having already paid full duties in Turkey, is again taxed on the left bank of the Danube, although it is still within the empire; and grain purchased in Bulgaria cannot be brought to the opposite

provinces of the same empire, even for the purpose of immediate exportation.

This prohibition forms a great impediment to the exportation of wheat and Indian corn from the Danube; and the opposition made to its abolition displays a complete ignorance of the principles of trade and of the results produced by similar measures elsewhere; for those of the Moldo-Wallachians, who suppose that they derive any benefit from it, and that the opening of their ports would be hurtful to the principalities, are either blinded by a traditional respect for the inspirations of Russia, or biassed by aversion to the Ottoman Porte, inasmuch as the latter power is certainly a loser by the oppression of trade in Bulgaria. It is self-evident, that every port in which there exists a large quantity of grain for exportation, from wheresoever it be procured, must always draw to itself both merchants and capital; that a great number of vessels will frequent it; that freights will be lower in consequence, and rates of exchange higher; and that a greater facility of obtaining money will be secured. These are positive advantages which must necessarily accrue to the growers. The latter argue, that wheat being cheaper in Bulgaria than in the principalities, their own could not stand against the competition; but the price is fixed by the demand; and do they imagine that they prevent the Bulgarian grain from reaching the English market? or do they believe that so small a quantity, in comparison with the supply sent from other countries to Great Britain, would materially affect the current prices? These may possibly be somewhat lower

at the shipping port when a greater quantity is for sale ; but consumption always increases as prices fall ; and the difference in the latter would be more than compensated, especially in a country where the qualities of grain differ ; for the landed proprietor would be amply repaid for the loss on his best wheat by the sale of his inferior produce, which would then be more easily disposed of than now.

Prices might fall, it is true ; but it is hardly probable that even that result would be involved, as the prices in the place of production always depend on those of the place of consumption ; if they do not fall, then not only is the previous consumption increased, as generally happens where the supply augments, but also production becomes greater, for good prices invariably enhance it.

By keeping out Bulgarian grain, the principalities only prevent its being sold so advantageously as it might be ; but who has the profit ? The consumers, to be sure, and not that of the Danubian trade.

Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, are all losers by this prohibition, and the Ottoman Porte also suffers ; the gainers are the merchants who buy the Bulgarian produce, to ship it on the Black Sea at an unnecessary expense ; and Russia, who furthers her political views by promoting disunion among the provinces of Turkey. Russia is well aware that the abolition of this prohibition would encourage cultivation in Bulgaria ; and there, as well as in the principalities, and in every other part of Turkey, she will always endeavour to impede the material progress of the country. By facilitating the



exportation and sale of grain grown on the Bulgarian side of the Danube, she would enhance the prosperity of that vast tract of agricultural territory; and this would be inconsistent with her proverbial policy. Besides this, she would also cause immediate injury, by so doing, to her own Black Sea trade, and it cannot be wondered at that such should be her conduct; it is more astonishing that she should find any one to agree with her on this point within the Turkish empire, which is so seriously harmed by it.

The opponents of the abolition contended, that the consequent increase of cultivation in Bulgaria, and a greater facility of exporting its produce, would materially lower the prices in the consuming markets; but, however correct in principle this argument may be, when it is considered how small this augmentation can be in proportion to the whole corn trade of Europe and America—certainly not one *per mille* on the quantity exported from all countries—it cannot be estimated that this would cause any sensible difference.

The Ottoman Porte is equally interested in the Moldo-Wallachian, and in the Bulgarian trade. Why is one allowed to injure the other without benefiting itself? The opposition raised in the principalities to their equalisation must fall, one would think, before the force of reason; the case is as simple as an easy syllogism, and it will at last be understood and rightly appreciated, in spite of the attempts to distort it which are made by the Russian party; and the growers will surely be convinced in time that the amount of their returns would be



increased by the change, as the matter thus stands in logical form :—

From the price at the place of consumption, which regulates their income, must be deducted all charges of transport, freight, insurance, merchants' commission or gain, cost of obtaining money, &c., and the remainder is the price paid to the cultivators; every measure which lowers these charges is profitable to them; and the charges are always lower where trade is carried on more extensively, and where larger dépôts exist. More vessels frequent the ports, and freights are consequently cheaper; capital is attracted, and money is therefore obtained on more favourable terms; an advantageous system of bills of exchange takes the place of the expensive process of bringing coin to make purchases, which still exists to a certain degree at Galatz and Ibraila, and value is represented without loss; while merchants doing a large business can work for a smaller commission, and are remunerated by less profit, than those doing a small business.

The free commercial intercourse between the two banks of the Lower Danube would therefore be profitable to both, and also highly beneficial to the empire of which both form parts, while all those states which are interested in Danubian trade would derive great advantage from these desirable changes. The present state of matters is thus injurious to many, but it is favourable to one, and that one no friend to any of them; for, by throwing obstacles in the way of the commerce of the Danube, an impulse is given to Russian produce, and to

the traffic of the Black Sea, whilst the ambitious political views of the cabinet of St. Petersburg with regard to the Turkish Empire, find an efficient means of furtherance in those obstructions to the welfare and connexion of a part of its population.

There is another weapon in the hands of Russia, which is no less powerful in effecting the disunion of the Turkish provinces, the oppression of their trade, and the hindrance of ours in this part of Europe; and it is equally illegitimate and unwarrantable. The sanitary *cordon* established by her along the left bank of the Danube is founded on the stipulations of the treaty of Adrianople. It is employed as a barrier intruded between the principalities and the remainder of Turkey, and as a political police, to keep the former under the control of Russia. As such, there can be but one opinion on its injustice. In a commercial point of view, it is productive of the most injurious effects to the three Ottoman provinces through which the Lower Danube flows, and it is burdensome in the extreme to the trade of England, and other countries which have established mercantile relations with them. It should therefore be energetically combated by them; and, as it is a weak point in the Russian policy with regard to Turkey, there is every probability of its being combated successfully. As a measure adopted for the protection of public health, which is the only ground on which its defence can be attempted, it will be found incapable of standing for a moment against a straightforward attack.

Allowing that the Russianized administration of

Moldo-Wallachia have the right to put a quarantine on all communication with the remainder of the Ottoman Empire, and, consequently, on all British vessels arriving in the Danube, as they must pass Constantinople, that right can only extend as far as may be required to guarantee the two provinces from the contagion of the plague, and it can never equitably be construed as stretching one iota further. Now there is a strict quarantine instituted at Constantinople, not by the Turkish government alone, but also with the co-operation of the representatives of several European powers, who send delegates to the Board of Health as members of that sanitary commission. It is, therefore, absurd that a clean bill of health emanating from them should not entitle its bearer to free pratique on his arrival in the Danube. In fact, the very government which arrogates the power of thus obstructing the commerce of other nations, protests against its own acts, by sanctioning the issue of such certificates on the part of a public body of which it nominates one of the members; and it further falls into an open contradiction of itself, by receiving ships at Odessa, which come from Constantinople, on better terms than are allowed to them at Ibraila and Galatz; for at the Russian port they perform only four days' quarantine, while at those of the Danube they must submit to fourteen. If Russia admits the right of British ships to receive a clean bill of health at Constantinople, how can she deny them free pratique in the Danube? And if Great Britain participates in the act of granting such documents, how does she suffer that

they should not be respected? Every government having a member of the Sanitary Commission at Constantinople, has an incontestable right to claim free pratique in the Danube. We have that right, and yet our ships are subjected to quarantine.

Whether the plague be contagious or not, and whether quarantine establishments can keep it out of a country or not, are questions the decision of which is not required to prove the case in point, as the plague does not exist in any part of Turkey at present, and the untenable nature of the Russian policy in maintaining her system of quarantine in the Danube can be sufficiently demonstrated without them. It may, therefore, be assumed that quarantine is useful in preventing the plague from extending, although experience in the principalities tends to show the contrary; for it cannot be said that the Danubian *cordon* has ever preserved them from that disease during the twenty years it has been in force: in order to argue that it has done so, it would be necessary first to establish that the advance of the plague has actually been stopped in the lazarettos; and secondly, that the epidemics, which have been called typhus or malignant fevers, occasionally prevailing in different Moldo-Wallachian towns, were not the plague; and neither of the two facts can be satisfactorily proved. It cannot, however, be alleged that the belief in contagion and in the efficacy of quarantine prompts the conduct of Russia in this respect, for she shows less fear at Odessa, and she is free to establish twenty *cordons* if she likes on the Pruth, which is her own frontier. But



she wishes to attain other objects within her neighbour's frontier; and she probably considers herself very skilful in using so plausible a pretext, and very fortunate in having been allowed to use it hitherto with impunity, and, indeed, without opposition.

The direction of the quarantine establishment is entrusted to a board at Bucharest, and another at Jassy; and these two bodies are superintended by an inspector general, who is nominally appointed by the two princes and the consul-general of Russia, but who is virtually a Russian functionary. The officers of the department were formerly Moldo-Wallachians, but in the gradual and stealthy progress of the cabinet of St. Petersburg towards the usurpation of paramount authority in the principalities, Russian agents have lately been placed at all the quarantine stations of Wallachia and Moldavia, holding the entire and effective control over them without responsibility, as they only give verbal orders, and sign no papers. The regulations of the establishment have been brought by them from a system of comparative facility and accommodation to the practice of the utmost rigour, as much so, in fact, as if the plague were actually on board every ship that arrives. And yet the plague has not been heard of for many years in any part of Turkey, and even Austria has abolished her quarantine on the Danube as being incompatible with the state of public health on the right bank, and injurious to trade.

In the organic law of both the principalities, certain

regulations are laid down for the quarantine establishment. These are framed on the Russian sanitary system, and not according to that which is universally adopted by other governments of Europe. The difference between the two systems consists chiefly in the following particulars. By the Russian system a vessel never gets pratique at all, unless it be specially applied for by the captain, who must thus volunteer to undergo all the vexatious formalities imposed on him. The sails, running rigging, &c., must be put into the hold and fumigated with all the clothes of the crew, during four-and-twenty hours, with the hatches shut down. Every person on board is obliged to remain on deck for a whole day and night, whatever may be the state of the weather. The hatches are then opened, the master and crew have to strip in the presence of a medical officer and the quarantine agents on deck, and go below naked to put on the clothes which have been smoked in the hold, and those left on deck by them are taken to the lazaretto by the health officers to be smoked. It is to be remarked that there are sometimes females on board English merchant ships. The term of quarantine then commences. In other countries the quarantine of vessels commences from the time when their susceptible goods are landed, and after a fixed number of days they must take pratique without any of these barbarous formalities.

The expenses, loss of time, inconvenience, and annoyance occasioned by the Russian system, may easily be conceived. The captain of an English brig, that

lately performed quarantine at Galatz, declared that this elaborate process cost him no less than 260 piastres, and it was undergone when no apprehension of plague could possibly be entertained. Another captain of an English vessel paid, a few months ago, at Galatz, 135 piastres for the quarantine tax on nine persons, composing his crew,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  piastres for the ticket given him, 435 piastres for the pay of the guard who remained on board during the term of observation, 150 piastres for the pay of two guards charged with watching his ship during the time of expurgation, and 90 piastres for the hire of a carriage to bring the inspector to visit the vessel daily: in all, 820 piastres. This ship was kept sixty-five days in quarantine, merely because she had a cargo on board, and, consequently, could not go through the process of smoking her sails, and running rigging, &c. in her hold. The manufactured goods which she carried, and which was classed as susceptible of conveying contagion, were enclosed in tarpaulin covers, with certificates from the Russian consul at the shipping port. She was furnished with a clean bill of health from Constantinople, and she was thirty days under the observation of the local authorities before her quarantine commenced, as she went from Galatz to Ibraila, and thence to Ziglina, where a guard was placed on board. She was in a most hazardous position during her quarantine, as the sudden breaking up of the ice on the Danube might have endangered the lives of her crew, as well as the property of the shippers, which was worth 8,000%.



A survey of her condition was made officially by two British masters, who reported that her safety imperatively required the landing of her cargo before the ice should break up, which was daily expected to take place. Every possible remonstrance was made by the competent authorities, and yet the Russian quarantine department of this Turkish province refused to give her pratique, or even to let her cargo be landed, until the stated term had expired.

A vessel arriving at Galatz, even should she come direct from England, without having opened hatches at Constantinople,—if she be laden, and still more, sailing perhaps in ballast, is obliged to remain on the opposite side of the Danube for twenty-four hours, and the crew is examined by the medical officer of the quarantine establishment, who is required to ascertain that they have not brought the plague from Constantinople, or from London, which is equally probable at present. Although this system of examination has been continued for twenty years, no one instance is, of course, on record, in which the presence of the disease has been detected. The ship is then allowed to come to the Moldavian shore, and to commence its quarantine. A wall has been built along the river, at a distance of a few yards from the water's edge, and on this strip of ground masters of vessels and their crews are allowed to land.

There is no house or shelter of any kind on it into which they may retire from the heat of the sun or the inclemency of the weather. No proper means are prepared for the communication of the captain with his



consul or merchant ; but he must stand in the crowd, on one side of a railing, to bawl out his private business to another crowd, which is beyond another railing, at five or six yards' distance. The few cells, which are called *parlatoryj*, or places for such conversations, are dark, and in every way unfit for the purpose ; and they have moreover been taken possession of by the guards as sleeping-rooms. If the captain writes to his consul or merchant, his note is put into the smoking-box, and thence it reaches its destination, or not, according as it may suit the convenience and fidelity of the quarantine agents, who, fearing compliance, and hoping to gain favour by reporting anything of interest, act as spies even on commercial correspondence. Then comes the expense of portorage, for carrying grain from the spouts in the wall to the ships, which averages 6*l.* per vessel, whereas, were the quarantine abolished, the carts might come near the ships, and the porters, who now shoot the grain into the quarantine spouts, might shoot it into their holds, as elsewhere.

Masters must also receive provisions and other necessities for their ships through a *spenditore*, or ship-chandler, who first fixes his own price without control, and then charges ten per cent. commission on everything he supplies ; thus it is calculated that, on an average, each vessel loses 5*l.* through this practice during its stay. And, besides all this, the fees on taking pratique cost about 5*l.*, after a delay of fourteen days, with injury to the materials and stores of the vessel, and the damage to which its cargo is exposed if it be laden.

In cases of sickness, no medical assistance can be obtained on board the ship, and, however ill a sailor may be, he must come on shore to the office of the captain of the port to be seen by the medical officer, or die on board without help, if he be unable to move. Should it appear necessary to separate him from the other sailors, he is taken to the lazaretto, without any of the precautions which his state may require, and, when there, he is obliged to strip naked, and get other clothes from the town. He is then kept four days in quarantine, during which time the quarantine surgeon may look at him, but not feel his pulse, and at the expiration of these four days he is moved into town, whatever may be the state of his health or of the weather; having paid about 2*l.* for his short stay in the lazaretto.

This is an evil which cannot be too speedily remedied, as it has doubtless already caused the death of many British seamen, from the difficulty of obtaining medical assistance for those who have died on board their ships, from the want of attention and quietness suffered by those who have been brought on shore to die, and from the aggravation of illness, occasioned by the fatigue and exposure of removal to a considerable distance, having sacrificed the lives of those who might have recovered if they had not been taken to the lazaretto. The Protestant cemetery of Galatz is abundantly eloquent on this subject.

When freights are low from the Danube to the United Kingdom, and when many British vessels are at Galatz or Ibraila without charters for a return cargo, their

captains are not free to seek the best terms, and to obtain the highest rates, in the hope of rendering the loss to their owners as light as possible ; and they find themselves confined, as it were, in a prison, and perfectly helpless to protect the interests of their ships. When in quarantine, they are entirely at the mercy of a few ship-brokers, who do not even speak their language ; and they are generally forced to accept such terms as are offered. They are also at a great disadvantage in the settlement of their accounts for freight, &c., as the merchants generally send them in only when the ships are ready for sea. They are thus subjected to heavy losses from the low rate of exchange allowed them, and they have no remedy, except by delaying the sailing of their vessels for several days, in order to get pratique, and learn the real state of the money-market.

In these, as in all other particulars of the system, there is no alleviation to be expected until the stringent and even oppressive practice of Russian quarantine be altogether abolished, as unjust to all parties concerned, and ruinous to trade in general.

Among other evils, the custom of forcing ship-masters in quarantine to transact their business surrounded by a mob of doubtful characters, has occasioned the robbery of vessels on their way down the Danube, when money has been publicly put on board them, as it is not always practicable to effect a transfer by bills of exchange.

Some of the official charges are hardly less piratical in their nature. The consular certificate is an instance of this.

All goods called susceptible, which come from Great Britain, must have the bales, cases, or casks containing them covered with tarpaulins, and must be sealed by the Russian consul at the port where the packages are shipped, while that functionary gives a certificate. The seals and certificates of the consuls of no other countries are received or respected. The cost of this process is about sixteen shillings for each package. The Danubian quarantine thus entails on British trade an additional expense, besides all other costs in performing quarantine, of 7,200*l.* on 9,000 bales of manufactures and twist imported annually from England; 4,000*l.* on 5,000 barrels and casks of sugar, and other articles brought yearly into Galatz and Ibraila from Great Britain; and 1,800*l.* on British vessels for additional portorage, attendance, &c.: making a total of 18,000*l.* sterling per annum. Added to this is the trouble to merchants, inconvenience to ship-masters, injury done to many articles by having water thrown over them, damage to such packages as may have the tarpaulins torn, or the seals broken: and, above all, delay, as time is money in trade. We may state these items in our financial tables as a small involuntary tribute which we pay to the political ambition of Russia.

As an example of the loss sustained by delay in consequence of the Danubian quarantine, may be mentioned that of discharging. At Ibraila there are so few discharging berths, that vessels must wait to unload until their turn comes. A few months ago, twelve ships were waiting to deliver, seven of them



being British ; and they were thus losing their time, although they are charged quayage. It may be said that the buildings of the establishment might be enlarged ; but if trade increases as it has hitherto done, that would be almost tantamount to converting the town into a vast lazaretto, for it is but a small place ; while the uselessness of the quarantine points out a better remedy than that of erecting such a monument of foreign usurpation in a country belonging to a friendly power. That Turkey is no party to the oppression of British trade in the Danube, through the rigours of the quarantine regulation, is sufficiently attested by the firman bearing date the 2d of August, 1848, in which the Prince of Moldavia was ordered to discontinue their application to our ships ; but that disposition in our favour was overruled, and they still exist.

Political economists tell us that the consumer pays all expenses, and we believe them ; but it is also no less true that, were the quarantine expenses saved, our merchandise would be imported cheaper, and the provinces would consume a larger quantity of British produce. It must also be borne in mind, that all goods coming to the principalities from Germany, either down the Danube or by land, are admitted free of this onerous quarantine tax, which, on ordinary merchandise, amounts to 2 per cent. ; and the trade of Germany has consequently so great an advantage over that of Great Britain, that German produce is preferred to English, when the cost to the consumers on the Danube, exclusive of quarantine charges, would otherwise be equal. Were the

obstacles opposed by the sanitary *cordon* removed, there can be no doubt that the sale of British manufactures would be considerably extended, by purchases made by traders from the small towns and villages of Bulgaria, as well as of Wallachia and Moldavia, where assortments do not exist, and this, without diminishing the quantity sent direct into the former province.

Steam navigation has brought those rich countries nearer to us, and it has opened a career of internal improvement, which will multiply their wants, and make them eager purchasers of our goods. We, on our part, seek new markets for our manufactures, and we must do it actively, for we have the formidable competition of the other States of Europe to struggle against; we should be vigilant where surplus corn is produced, in order that we may make a profitable exchange, tending to supply our own wants; and the Danubian trade combines those qualities and features which imperatively demand the attention of England. The value of our exports to France, Belgium, and Holland, which have a population of 42,000,000, and have manufacturers of their own, is 7,000,000*l.* sterling per annum; while that of our Danubian exports is little more than 700,000*l.*, including those to Bulgaria. In the west of Europe 6,000,000 of the population imports 1,000,000*l.* worth of our goods; the population of the three Danubian provinces is upwards of 8,000,000, and by re-establishing the proportion we should add nearly 700,000*l.* to the annual value of our exports, almost doubling the amount of our trade on the Danube. Is it not, then,

worth our while to endeavour to extend and facilitate our commercial relations with the Bulgarians and Moldo-Wallachians?

The treaty of Adrianople conferred on Russia, in the year 1829, the right of establishing and maintaining a quarantine station on one of the mouths of the Danube, which forms the boundary between the Turkish and Russian empires, and bears the name of Sulina; and, as this is the only passage now practicable for shipping, she thus obtained a direct influence over the whole trade of the river. We shall see how far the exercise of that influence is in other respects consistent with the spirit of protection volunteered in favour of the two principalities.

A bar of mud crosses the mouth of the channel, and the water becomes so shallow over it, when no steps are taken to preserve a suitable depth, that only vessels of light draught can enter or leave the Danube in the end of summer. That being the season in which merchant ships frequent the Moldavian and Wallachian ports in search of grain for the European markets, the obstruction to trade is considerable, on account of the necessity of trans-shipping their cargoes into lighters, and in consequence of the danger to which both vessels and cargoes are exposed when bad weather overtakes them during the process. The expense of lighterage, and the higher rate of insurance required, entailed a burden of three shillings per quarter on wheat exported from the two principalities; and this increase of price on Danubian produce places it on disadvantageous terms in comparison

with that exported by Russia, an equal quantity of which would be displaced in the consuming ports of Western Europe, if those extra charges did not exist; while the total supply which might be drawn from the northern provinces of Turkey is also materially diminished.

The occupation of Sulina by the Russians received the sanction of Austria in a special convention, passed in 1840, for the maintenance of deep water on the bar, in consideration of a tax or toll on all vessels crossing it. Although Great Britain was not a party to this arrangement, her immediate commercial interests might have been satisfied by its realization; but, notwithstanding that the dues are regularly paid by all ships visiting the Danubian ports, including those of England, no measures are taken by Russia for the execution of the corresponding operation of dredging the bar; and our trade in this quarter suffers in consequence. The contribution would willingly be disbursed by our traders in favour of any one who faithfully secured a safe passage to their vessels; but, as long as that object remains unattained, not only is the tax inequitable, but we have also the right of insisting, in virtue of other international stipulations, that the work should be effected, and even of effecting it ourselves if necessary.

The treaty of Vienna declared, in the year 1815, that all the navigable rivers of Europe should be considered as "the highways of nations;" and every country having an interest in the navigation of the Danube, is thereby justified in co-operating for its facilitation. The



subsequent treaty of Adrianople has never been recognised by the European powers; the convention between Russia and Austria, concluded in 1840, is not binding on England; and the unanimous settlement of the general interests of Europe, in 1815, is the only contract in which we participated. We therefore possess an undeniable right to claim, and even to enforce, its fulfilment, and we are invested with a legal title to exercise a direct influence over the state of the bar at Sulina, for we have never divested ourselves of the rights acquired by us through the treaty of Vienna, as Austria has done by her special convention with Russia.

It has been argued that the regulations in the treaty of Vienna regarding the navigable rivers in Europe, are not applicable to the Danube, because, at the time when it was concluded, that river was virtually closed: all provisions, coming from whatever country, could not then, by Turkish law, be removed from a Turkish port, while every other article of exchange had to pay three per cent. export duties to Turkey; and because, Turkey not having been in any way a party to the treaty of Vienna, the application of it to the navigation of the Danube was never demanded by her. How then can it be just, it is said, that a new rule should be applied merely on account of a change having taken place in the possession? It is perfectly true that, in every treaty which can affect the navigation of the Danube, Turkey should be a party, as she is deeply interested in obtaining facilities on the opposite bank, which she is willing to grant on her own; but still the treaty of Vienna is explicit; no one can

deny that the Danube is a navigable river of Europe, and as such it is included in the collective bond. The peculiar circumstances connected with the lower part of its course did not prevent the application of the treaty where it flows through Germany; and it is a *reductio ad absurdum* to allege that a general principle for navigation can be applied to one part of a river and not to another, that other being also the most navigable; unless a special clause of exclusion exists, which is not the case with regard to the Danube. Even supposing that it really was not navigable at the time when the treaty was concluded, and that it had subsequently acquired that quality, it must now necessarily fall under the conditions laid down for all the navigable rivers in Europe.

England was not called upon to participate in the special convention, and she would never have sanctioned it if she had been party to it, as she could not reasonably expect that Russia would facilitate the navigation of the river at a great expense, when it must be to the detriment of her own commerce; and Russia knew how prejudicial it would be to her to do so, when she made the engagement; for in 1839, the year before she assumed it, 1,208 ships left the ports of Galatz and Ibraila, and only 270 cleared from her own Danubian harbours of Ismail and Reni. The trade of the latter places could not increase, while that of the other two might be doubled; and the exports from the Danube, in general, were equal to those of the whole of Russia on the Black Sea. It was therefore evident that the arrangement was made for the express purpose of injuring the provinces of Turkey, by

obstructing their trade, while it benefited that of Russia, and impeded that of England. These, if one may judge by the results, must have been the motives of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, that cabinet which professes to *protect* the provinces in question. As for Austria, the convention was a nullity, as far as she was concerned, for none of its articles either favoured or hurt her interests. The most cursory analysis of its terms will suffice to show their illusory nature. The preamble sets forth that it is the intention of the high contracting powers to assimilate the navigation of the Danube to that of the other navigable rivers of Europe. If that were the case, why were the other countries, possessing trade in this quarter, not invited to negotiate with them, and especially Turkey, who is more nearly concerned in the question than any other power? Why was not provision made for the navigation of all the mouths of the Danube, instead of confining their deliberations to the subject of the only one which was in the possession of Russia?

The second article establishes the right of towing along the islands of St. George, Lete, and Chatel, which Russia had never denied, although her guards always threw difficulties in the way of that practice; and it still forms one of the chief annoyances to the shipping, by the continual disputes which arise between their crews and the quarantine agents. Austria gained nothing by this. But when it is borne in mind that, up to the year 1835, there was no sanitary *cordon* on Lete or Chatel, and that towing on these islands was perfectly free, it will be understood that Russia thus stole a march by advancing her sanitary *cordon*,



without the consent of any other government, at the nominal expense of a concession, which was not one in reality.

The seventh article fixes the amount of the tax levied to cover the cost of deepening the water on the bar; that tax is all in favour of Russia, and not at all in favour of navigation, either as regarding Austria, or as benefiting trade in general; for, if Russia had engaged to defray the expenses of lighterage, in all cases when vessels should be unable to cross the bar with their cargoes on board, in consideration of the dollar per mast which she received without having cleared the channel, there might have been some advantage to navigation, as large ships have been known to pay 300% for lighters, while cargoes have sometimes been lost by a sudden change of weather; but this condition was not included. Thus the bar was not dredged, lighterage was paid by vessels, and the tax was also exacted. These evils are of less importance to Austria, however, than to Turkey and Great Britain; for the produce of Hungary being wanted only for the Mediterranean and the countries beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, does not come to the Black Sea, but is conveyed by the Danube, above the rapids at the Iron Gate, which form an obstacle to its descending the river, by the Save and Croatia, to Fiume on the Adriatic, whence freights are cheaper, while the expenses thither are not higher than they would be to Galatz. This has been proved by experiments of bringing rapeseed to the latter port by river boats; and they have not been profitable. To Austria the convention was, therefore, comparatively a matter of indifference, but it has been most



injurious to all other countries, more deeply interested in the trade of the Danube.

The tenure of Russia at Sulina cannot be regarded as possession *de facto*, for she holds it for a special purpose, and in virtue of a treaty with another power. Her conduct at the mouth of the Danube is, consequently amenable to the censure and control of the other contracting party; Austria could not interfere in virtue of the convention, as she had no right to dispose of the property of another in concluding it; but Turkey can call upon Russia, on the basis of the treaty of Adrianople, to render an account of her stewardship; and every other government which has trade to protect on the river is fully warranted by the treaty of Vienna in maintaining a system of active restraint on the designs of Russia in obstructing it. The question is, how that can be done?

The bar of Sulina is about 200 yards in length. It is not similar to those which are found at the mouths of most tidal rivers, as it is not formed of sand washed in by the sea, which, after having been removed, may be brought back by the next tide, or by a strong wind; but it is raised by the gradual deposit of mud conveyed by the stream; and in order to keep the passage clear, nothing further is required than to stir it, and the current carries it off, while it can only be replaced by the slow process of the settling of more mud brought down by the river, as there is no tide in the Black Sea to drive it back again.

Before the conclusion of the treaty of Adrianople, the Turks maintained a uniform depth of sixteen feet on the

bar, by means of heavy iron rakes, which they obliged all vessels to drag after them during their passage out of the Danube, whereas there are now barely nine feet of water on it. Two dredging machines were brought to Sulina by the Russians, after the signing of their convention with Austria; they were worked by manual labour for one day, and then they were laid aside for ever. No further effort has been made at any time, or under any circumstances, to facilitate the navigation, although two Spanish dollars have been paid by every brig that has passed, and three by all ships and steamers. It is even said that bags of stones have been sunk, for the purpose of consolidating the bar, and of creating a permanent obstacle; and an English captain declares that he accidentally fished up one; but whether this be true or not—and it may be true without any blame on the part of the Russian government, as the owners of lighters may have done it for their own interest—the fact of the intention of Russia to impede the Danubian trade is sufficiently demonstrated by her having allowed the mouth of the river to be almost completely closed, without taking any steps to obviate that result.

The Austrian Steam Navigation Company tried to avoid the Sulina altogether in their trade between Vienna and Constantinople, by disembarking their goods and passengers at Chernevodo, and transporting them by land to Kustendje, gaining thus two full days on the voyage; but the idea has been abandoned, in consequence of the inadequacy of the latter harbour, where there was great difficulty in loading and embarking them in rough

weather. Were the port improved, which is said to be practicable at a small expense, the steam trade might emancipate itself from the thralldom of Russia by perfecting this line; but it would never be suitable for general commerce.

The same company has now turned its attention to the St. George's or southernmost mouth of the Danube, which is being sounded and surveyed with the view of avoiding the Sulina, by taking the former channel on the Turkish side of the Delta. The first objection to this scheme is the impossibility of having a town or station on this mouth for the convenience of the shipping, unless, indeed, Turkey were to act with as little regard for her engagements as Russia does. The 3d article of the treaty of Adrianople proclaims the navigation of the St. George's branch free to the merchant vessels of all nations, as also the ships of war of Turkey and Russia; and it determines that on the Turkish bank the country shall remain uninhabited for two leagues from the river, as high as the junction of the St. George's with the Sulina branch, while on the islands of the Delta, which are neutral, no establishment or building is to be erected, excepting for the purposes of quarantine. Russia observes the conditions of this latter clause, in so far as she does not raise any stone buildings on the Delta for other purposes; but a town of wooden houses has risen into existence at Sulina, which, though very necessary for the shipping, can hardly be classed as a quarantine establishment alone. If Turkey cannot form a similar settlement at the mouth of St. George, that channel cannot

be made available. Its entrance is rendered difficult and dangerous by banks of mud, which extend into the sea from two miles and a half to three miles, and there are no landmarks to assist the navigation, while the shifting nature of the shoals would oblige all vessels to feel their way into the river by sounding with a boat, and only with light and favourable winds. The depth of the water, moreover, does not exceed four feet in some places, which would entail more dredging than at the Sulina mouth. Another obstacle is the nature of the banks, which, for about ten miles up the stream, are so rough and irregular, that towing would not be easy; and on the whole, the difficulties are estimated to be greater than the advantages.

A suggestion has appeared in the *Journal de Constantinople*, that the Porlitsa mouth might be made use of, and that, by passing through the Lake Rasim, the St. George's branch might be reached by that which is called the Dunavez. But independently of that want of a suitable depth of water which exists at all the mouths of the Danube, this passage would prove exceedingly inconvenient, on account of the impossibility of towing on the lake, which would oblige sailing vessels to wait for a fair wind.

The only other branch of the Danube is the Kilia, or most northern, which discharges itself into the Black Sea by no less than seven mouths, and the water is consequently very shallow at each of them, as their breadth is considerable. It is said that Russia projects rendering this branch navigable for the trade of her town of Ismael,



which is on the Kilia branch. If the Sulina mouth were kept open, the general navigation of the river would be but little affected by the change; but if Russia continues to obstruct the Sulina with impunity, the opening of the Kilia would throw the whole Danubian trade under her immediate and indisputable control; and such is, probably, the motive of her alleged intention.

The clearing of the Sulina bar, therefore, becomes a question of paramount importance to all nations trading on the Danube, and besides it, there are also the shoals of Aragany, in the same branch, which require to be removed. They lie about six miles below the separation of the channels, and they are formed by an artificial deviation of the current, which was made for the purpose of fishing. There are at present only nine feet of water on them, and they might easily be carried off by closing that short channel called the Papadia, or by merely raking the mud, in the same manner as was the custom at Sulina when the Turks possessed it. Indeed, this seems to be the only process necessary for the security and economy of the Danubian trade in the Sulina branch, which would be kept in perfect order by employing a small steamer to drag rakes over the bar and the shoals. The expense would be covered by a moderate tax on vessels; and there would be no difficulty in finding a company of contractors who would undertake it, while a commission might be named by the governments connected with the trade, in order that the respective commissioners might watch over the interests of their country, such as exists on the Rhine. The convention

between Russia and Austria, having been made for ten years, it has now expired, and the time has come when the subject should be taken into serious consideration by all whom it may concern. Its importance to Great Britain can easily be proved.

The average number of British vessels coming annually to the Danube was only eight about ten years ago, and even those could not always find cargoes for the United Kingdom. The last three years show an average of 215, besides 150 foreign ships per annum also carrying grain to England. There is, moreover, every apparent prospect of a steady increase of our trade with the Danubian ports, in spite of the great disadvantages entailed upon it by Russia.

These disadvantages are positive and palpable. A British ship laden with 1,000 quarters of wheat draws about thirteen feet of water, and one carrying 2,000 requires at least eighteen to float her over the shoals and the bar; it is, therefore, very rare that a vessel bound for England, can get out of the Danube without incurring the expense of lighterage. The amount depends, of course, on the quantity of cargo, but it has varied from 200% to 300% in some cases. This is not the only evil, however; for if it should come on to blow during the trans-shipment at Sulina, the vessel must get up her anchor, or slip it, and stand out to sea if she can; and if she cannot do that, she must go on shore, as has occurred more than once. The lighters, in the meantime, are left to make the best of their way into the river again, and in so doing they are sometimes lost,

with all the grain they may contain. When saved, the wheat rarely escapes being damaged, and it is generally disposed of at a losing price to speculators, who avail themselves of these frequently-recurring opportunities to take advantage of the embarrassing position in which our shipmasters are thus placed.

In consequence of these difficulties and risks, freights for England are 13*s.* per quarter at Galatz, while they are only 8*s.* 6*d.* at Odessa; the difference in the length of the voyage, were there no such impediments, being equivalent to 1*s.*, or at most 1*s.* 6*d.* The additional insurance demanded amounts to 6*d.* per quarter; a considerable sum on 300 or 400 cargoes which we draw from the Danube; and the trouble and annoyance occasioned deters a great number of vessels from seeking freights at the Danubian ports. The loss to the principality of Moldavia on this last account alone, has been calculated by a high authority at no less than 300,000*l.* during the past year, which is a sample of the benefits of Russian protection; and, if the province that produces suffers thus, the country, which consumes, must necessarily be a loser in a proportionate ratio. Are not these sufficient inducements for a government to take steps for the relief of a branch of its trade?—and will commercial injury be submitted to from the political ambition of another power without a struggle to prevent it? Surely the subject is worthy of notice, and the advantages to be derived cannot be considered insignificant. The importance of the Danubian trade appears to be somewhat underrated; and if public attention can be drawn to it, a better appreciation may be made.

Our Danubian trade cannot be considered unimportant, when such facts as the following speak for themselves:—The average quantity of grain, annually shipped during the last three years at the Moldo-Wallachian ports, direct for the United Kingdom, amounts to 416,378 imperial quarters. In addition to this, about half as much more is generally sent to Constantinople and Malta in small vessels, on account of the difficulty of navigating those of a suitable size on the Danube in the present state of the river, and the grain is transhipped at these ports for Great Britain; while a considerable portion of the wheat and Indian corn conveyed from the principalities to the different harbours of the Mediterranean, is purchased there for the English market.

Such is the present state of the corn trade between Great Britain and the Danube, and its future prospects are not less advantageous; indeed, appearances warrant their being called highly promising. There has been an increase of 3,189,015 imperial quarters in the amount of grain exported from the town of Ibraila, which is the principal port of Wallachia, during the last six years over that of the preceding six years; and, should circumstances continue favourable, it may rise in the next six years to 3,000,000 of quarters more than its present amount. The augmentation in the exports of Moldavia at Galatz—the only commercial harbour of the principality—has been 717,395 quarters in the last six years above those of the preceding term of equal length; but it is not probable that they will increase in the same proportion for the future, and it is the opinion of mer-



chants on the spot that they may advance as far as 350,000 quarters, chiefly in Indian corn, but no further. The reason why the exportation from Wallachia is increasing more rapidly than that from Moldavia is, that the latter province is already much more cultivated than the former, and there is, consequently, less room for extension. It is even computed that if the whole of Wallachia were as much cultivated for thirty miles from the Danube as Moldavia is, it might export grain to an amount six times greater than the sister principality can.

Tallow is an article of exportation from the Danube, which is also of some consequence, and the quantity has nearly doubled within the last twelve years. About 500 tons of cured beef in tin cases are annually shipped for England from a factory at Galatz. And the trade in leeches from the numerous marshes and lakes is extensive and profitable.

Almost all the articles imported into the provinces come from the United Kingdom, with the exception of fruit and oil, which are brought from the Levant, and iron from Russia. We supply them with manufactures, cotton twists, refined and crushed sugar, and coals for the use of the Danube steamers. Of the first, there are generally about 4,000 bales imported per annum; of the second, 5,000 bales; of the third, 5,000 hogsheads; and of the fourth, 5,000 tons; while the total value of all the importations to Ibraila and Galatz varies from 600,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* a year. This shows a great increase of late years, as in 1837 they only

amounted to the sum of 97,405*l.*, and they will, in all probability, continue to augment, if no misfortune befall the provinces ; for by an increasing exportation a greater importation will be produced with the means of paying for it.

Until the beginning of 1848, the custom-houses of the two principalities were entirely distinct from each other ; and merchandise imported into the one, having paid full duty, was obliged to pay it again on being brought into the other. The customs were united, however, about three years ago, and all articles may now pass freely from one province to the other, excepting wheat, Indian corn, tallow, and salt. The exchange of these between the principalities is altogether prohibited ; and they are not even allowed to be taken from the one to the other for the purpose of being exported. These arrangements were first agreed on by the two governments in 1832 ; they were regularly confirmed by a customs' convention in 1835 ; and they were finally ratified by the act of the union of the customs in 1846 ; but they were not realized until the year 1848. This is an instance of the difficulty of carrying out even the most beneficial measures under a malevolent foreign influence, miscalled protection. The duties are three per cent. on every article of importation, the valuation being settled between the customer and the merchant.

There are also extra dues ; such as two piastres per oke on tobacco ; one piastre per bottle on wine ; and a small town-duty on wine in casks. Besides these a most pernicious tax exists at Galatz, which is the cause

of much annoyance, and of considerable loss to merchants sending goods into the interior. It consists in ten per cent. on the amount of hire paid for waggons; and, as it is farmed, the speculator endeavours to raise their price by every possible means; attempting sometimes to establish a monopoly, by engaging waggons in his service, in order to let them out to the merchants at the most exorbitant rates. The importation of common wine is prohibited in both provinces, as is likewise that of salt, which is drawn in great quantities from the Carpathian mountains. Every article of exportation pays a duty of three per cent. on valuation, with the exception of wheat, which pays four piastres per kilo, being four per cent.; rye paying the same sum, which is equal to eight per cent.; Indian corn two piastres and twenty-eight paras, or four per cent.; barley in the same ratio; tallow, three per cent., valued at four piastres and a half per oke; and cattle, horses, and sheep, on which there is a fixed duty per head.

Galatz and Ibraila are both called free ports; but they are only so, in fact, inasmuch as importations do not pay the three per cent. duty on being landed, and they pay it on being sent into the interior; thus the inhabitants of these towns consume their coffee and sugar duty free, while all articles of produce are taxed when exported.

The concourse of merchant ships is considerable at both places, and, although much was said to the contrary, the recent change in the navigation laws does not now appear likely to occasion any great difference in the

number of those offering for freight from the Danube to the United Kingdom. Besides English vessels, Austrian ships, in virtue of a treaty, could load for England direct; and Greek merchantmen could also do so, by touching at a port of Greece, without causing much delay or expense. The only other flag often seen in the Danube is the Sardinian; but, as that flag has a high protection for its home trade, it does not seem probable that it will enter into competition with the British flag for the carrying trade to England. Neither will the new enactment create any lasting reduction in freights; because it suits English vessels to come out in ballast, and load wheat and Indian corn at 11s. per quarter, making two voyages a year, which may easily be done. Austrian ships do not come forward to receive cargoes for Great Britain under 13s. or 14s. per quarter; and Greek vessels are not often of a class fit to go to England, while, owing to the greater risks incurred by bad faith under that flag, a British ship is always preferred at the difference of 1s. per quarter more.

A considerable number of vessels is annually constructed at the Moldo-Wallachian ports, and ship-building is carried on with a degree of activity proportionate to the development of the mercantile and agricultural resources of the principalities. They are, however, dependent on others for materials. The wood of Wallachia, being grown on the plains, does not last long, and a ship built of it is hardly seaworthy after ten or twelve years; the timber decays fast in a position where it is alternately wet and dry, and it costs as much



as that which is brought from the Bulgarian port of Tulcha. It is inferior in quality to the latter, although it can be procured of larger size; and in durability it is far from being equal to it, as a vessel well built of Bulgarian wood is said to be capable of serving twenty years in good condition. Large trees are found in Bulgaria, however, only in places difficult of access, and the roads are so bad that it cannot be conveyed along them; the timber procured from thence is, therefore, small, and the largest ship that can be built of it will not carry more than 2,000 quarters of wheat, or 360 tons weight. Good ship-carpenters are paid from fifteen to sixteen dollars per month, that is, about 18s. per week, besides their food. Iron-work and copper are brought from Constantinople. Tree-nails are also obtained from thence, not of oak, as in England, but of ash. Cordage comes from Trieste or Odessa, that from the former place being better than the other; and the canvas for sails is imported from Odessa, while cotton for the same purpose is brought from Malta. The latter material is cheaper, and when it is kept carefully from damp and mildew, it lasts nearly as long as sail-cloth made of hemp. The spars of Moldavia are all of white pine, and do not stand more than five years' work, even when well taken care of; they are cheap, as a mast for a vessel of 200 tons costs 2*l.* 10*s.* in Galatz, whereas the same piece of wood would fetch 10*l.* at Constantinople. The red pine, of which spars come from Fiume, is more valuable, and a mast of that size will last ten or twelve years, but it would cost 20*l.* when

purchased in the Ionian Islands, whence such timber is brought to the Danube. Ship-building is thus carried on under every possible disadvantage; but so great is the movement of the Danubian trade, enriched by the prodigious natural wealth of the northern provinces of Turkey, that even in this particular a rapid advance is visible.

The application of the treaty of 1837 to the Danubian principalities, which have lately been brought under it, as the remainder of Turkey already had, will be productive of important effects on our trade, for the regulation of which it was concluded between our government and the Ottoman Porte. The duty on the introduction of merchandise, instead of being only three per cent., will be increased by an addition of two per cent.; goods, having paid full duties at Constantinople, will not have to pay again on entering the provinces; those which have paid three per cent. there, will only have to pay two per cent. here; and the importation of salt, not produced in Turkey, will be permitted under a duty of five per cent. It is to be remarked, at the same time, as regards England, that salt does not appear in the tariff as an article either of importation or of exportation. The anomalous free ports of Ibraila and Galatz will be abolished, or at least the system must be modified, as it cannot work under the treaty; and their suppression would be rather advantageous than otherwise to trade, as the only benefit they offer is, that the merchant who imports, not being called upon to pay duty until he sends his goods into the interior, gains time to make his

payments ; while the disadvantage is, that people from the country cannot freely purchase for their small wants, because they must either go to the custom-house in town, and there pay the duty, taking a permit to pass the gates at a great loss of time and trouble, or pay at the gate, where the custom-house agents exact an arbitrary duty, always higher than that which they are entitled to. This circumstance is said to diminish, very considerably, the retail trade of the town, the consumption of the interior, and consequently the importation of the province. All excise duties will be taken off, excepting, perhaps, that on tobacco, which, being a product of Turkey, may still be liable to a small tax of this kind ; and the duty on the hire of waggons for the transport of goods into the interior must fall, which will be a great relief to trade. Articles of exportation will have to pay under the treaty nine per cent. on arriving at the port, and three per cent. on being shipped ; and the merchant will be free to purchase in Wallachia, Moldavia, or Bulgaria, on equal terms, which he cannot do now, on account of the different conditions in force on the two banks of the river.

The export trade of the Danube will thus be increased by that of Bulgaria, which is at present driven to the Black Sea by the want of a suitable shipping port on the river ; commerce will gain, but a wider field for the exercise of her baneful influence will be opened to Russia, by the subjection of another province of the Turkish empire to her iniquitous control over the Sulina, unless the rights vested in other nations with

reference to the navigation of the Danube be resolutely vindicated.

At a time when the belief in the contagious nature of the plague is rapidly giving way before inquiry and experience, and when Turkey is entirely free from it, surely Russia will not be allowed to follow up her designs by using quarantine as an instrument, and using it, too, with such palpable detriment to others. Can Turkey, and those who wish her well, suffer the free mercantile intercourse between three of her provinces to be impeded by custom-house regulations, framed to favour the Russian desire of seeing two of them detached from the Ottoman empire, when all the energies of enlightened statesmen are directed towards the development of trade, as being the only true foundation of national prosperity? And in the very year when Great Britain has determined to overcome the gigantic difficulties of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, will she quietly look on when Russia is closing a canal formed by nature, and thus crushing the trade of an important part of Europe? Will she not assert her rights at Sulina? If these three subjects are rightly treated, a salutary check will be imposed on the crafty advances of a rival; the most opportune and beneficial support will be given to the just cause of a friend; and the immediate interests of our own trade will receive a profitable impulse. There will then only remain the obnoxious Russian army of occupation to combat in the Danubian principalities, and the preponderant influence which is exercised by the Russian agents over the councils of their admini-



stration. But the latter will soon fall if the visible signs of power are removed, and the Moldo-Wallachians will throw off the ascendancy of Russia, which is not cemented by common interests, immediately when they see the Czar is not omnipotent. Give them another support, and they will cling to it.

## CHAPTER XVI.

CONSULS — MAZEPPA — ROMAN FORT — THE RIVER SERETH — TEKUTSH —  
STORM — BURLAT — VASLUI — NICHOLAS KIRNUL — AGRICULTURE IN MOL-  
DAVIA — MIDNIGHT CONCERT ON THE STEPPES — THE COSSACKS.

DURING a week that I spent at Galatz with our kind and clever Vice-Consul, Mr. Charles Cunningham, I contrived to snatch a few hours from my commercial and statistical researches for the purpose of seeing everything that was to be seen, and of a truth that was not much. I called on the Governor, and duly received his formal visit in return; a stupid man, with a clever wife to do his work for him. And I also became acquainted with the Consuls of the different European powers, several of whom were agreeable and well-informed men.

The respective number of vessels despatched have been, during the past year, 96 Russian, 133 Austrian, 1 Prussian, 44 Sardinian, and 160 British ships.

Galatz is a mere modern town, and the only thing I saw to interest me in the way of sights was the Convent of St. George, and that was only a borrowed interest, for, in itself, it is hardly worthy of notice, but it was the burial-place of Lord Byron's hero, Mazeppa. After the singular equestrian adventure which supplies the poet's

theme, he was hospitably received by the Cossacks of the Ukraine, whither the wild horse had conveyed him from the centre of Poland; he was then a very young man; and he remained with his benefactors, whose Hetman, or chief, he became in his old age; but the treachery which he displayed towards the outraged husband who inflicted on him that uncomfortable ride, was also visible in his conduct as an influential vassal of Russia.

When Peter the Great destroyed the Swedish army under Charles XII. at Pultava, the latter chivalrous young monarch was saved during the following night by Mazeppa, who led him across the rivers Dnieper and Bog to Oczakou, by ways which his knowledge of the country enabled him to take advantage of without danger from the pursuit of the Russians, while the Cossacks under his command were made prisoners and put to death by the Czar. He accompanied the king of Sweden to Bender, where he died; but as that town was then in the possession of the Tatars, his remains were removed to Galatz for the purpose of receiving Christian interment. They were laid in a vault under the church.

A few years later, Galatz was sacked by the Turks, who were then engaged in the campaign of the Pruth against Peter the Great, and the tomb of Mazeppa was opened in the hope of finding objects of value in it. The Moldavian contemporary historian, Nicholas Costin, asserts that his bones were then thrown out on the bank of the Danube; but it appears that in 1835, the slab on which his name with the eagle of Ukraine was engraved, was again raised for the purpose of burying

a Moldavian Boyar in the vault, and the Hetman's skull was found. The stone afterwards came into the possession of one of the Ghikas who had collected several pieces of sculpture connected with the history of these countries, and it may still be seen in the courtyard of his house at Bucharest.

On leaving Galatz we followed a north-westerly direction, passing the old quarantine establishment, which is now a factory for preserving meat in the possession of a Hungarian Jew, who purchases cattle at a low price in the Danubian provinces, and packs them up in tin cases for the consumption of our sailors, according to a contract with the Admiralty. The process he employs was discovered in a singular manner; a house had been burnt down in which the dinner was being cooked at the time, and when the ruins were excavated a year afterwards for the purpose of rebuilding it, a saucepan was found buried in the rubbish, with some meat in it perfectly fresh: by repeated experiments it was ascertained by an enterprising Englishman exactly what degree of boiling was necessary to produce this result, and he commenced applying his discovery to an extensive speculation.

We passed to the right of the confluence of the Sereth and Danube, where I saw some pretty gardens, and, keeping on the height, we reached an ancient Roman fort, now called Ghertina, which I had heard of as being likely to repay the trouble of a close inspection, and in which I was by no means disappointed.

It appears that this was the town of Caput Bovis,



which was built by Belisarius, for the protection of the Roman colonies in Dacia, against the invasion of the Barbarians. The position is defensible, being a headland jutting on the valley of the Sereth from the higher level of the upper plain, in form resembling the skull of an ox, and supplying, as is supposed, the prototype of the armorial emblem of the province. This high peninsula seems to have been surrounded by a massive wall, the blocks of stone composing it having been removed for the purpose of paving the streets of Galatz; it is united to the neighbouring heights by an isthmus of masonwork, which seems at one part to have been a drawbridge; and two walls descended to the river Sereth, enclosing a large space, where foundations of houses indicate that a lower town had once stood. Catacombs still exist in the ancient citadel, and they were probably the burial-places of persons of high rank; for urns, lamps, small statues, and inscriptions have been found in them of excellent workmanship, and they have been appropriated by different collectors of antiquities at Jassy. A subterraneous communication descends to the town, and the lower entrance to it is defended by a curious triangular tower, the lower story of which is on a level with the bank of the river, and so near it that the passage underground was probably used as a means of supplying the fortress with water. The ruins of a bath stood near, with an aqueduct and leaden pipes; and the remains of a small temple, dedicated apparently to Cupid, as a bronze figure of that god had been dug up near them, showed that the place dated after the decline of art, so

clumsy were the short shafts of the columns, and so ungraceful the plan, which was neither a square nor a well-proportioned oblong. Further east were the fragments of a monument to Caius Aurelius Verus, with the following inscription:—

“ET VICTORIA ET CONCORDIA AVRELIJ ANTONINI C. AVREL. VER.  
IMPER. CORNELIVS FIRMVS L. T. LEG. ITAL. ARMA POSVIT;”

and towards the west are to be seen some vestiges of a large temple of the Ionic order, where a bronze statue of Ceres was found, besides several *bas-reliefs* on marble, representing chariot races, and other such subjects. A great number of coins have been dug up here during the removal of stones to Galatz, as I was told; they were principally of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Antonius Augustus, Diocletian, Constantine, and Arcadius; which proves that Dacia was not altogether evacuated by the Romans under Aurelian, as some historians assert, and that this fort was garrisoned by them down to the epoch of Constantine the Great, at least.

Soon after quitting Caput Bovis, or Ghertina, as it is now called, we came to the river Sereth, whose course we followed for several miles. It was thirty yards across, and apparently not more than five or six feet deep; the stream not rapid, and the banks low. On the plain were a considerable number of villages, some of them large and apparently prosperous; the cottages were much better than those in Wallachia, and there was an air of well-being about the peasantry which is sought for in vain in the sister province. Mol-

davia seems also to be much more thickly peopled and better cultivated, which is said to be owing to the greater care bestowed on their estates by the proprietors. The forests which were traversed were of older growth than in Wallachia, where wood is not allowed to attain a proper size, as it is cut every seventh year by the spendthrift and needy Boyars. Here landlords reside more in the villages, and encourage the tilling of their property, while there they generally let their farms to greedy speculators, receiving their rent from them in advance, to supply the means of living in luxury at Bucharest ; a lease is sometimes granted at a reduced rate, on condition of its payment for six years by anticipation, and no solicitude is felt for the condition of the peasant, who is ground down by the farmer's extortion. But in Moldavia a different system prevails, and its beneficial results are visible in the general aspect of the country, which is widely different from that of Wallachia, being more European in all its features, and evidently further advanced in the development of its resources.

We overtook a multitude of waggons laden with enormous wine-casks, dragged along by several pairs of oxen ; others full of rock salt, in blocks of two or three cubic feet, were slowly proceeding on their way to Galatz, drawn by twelve horses, in three lines four abreast, and driven by two boors, one riding on the near leader, and the other on one of the wheelers ; while we occasionally met patriarchal families of Jews, travelling in a sort of Noah's ark on wheels, which generally contained at least twenty women and children, besides



winged bipeds of many kinds from the poultry yard, with their trunks slung outside, as it were on davits, as men-of-war carry their boats. These sons of Israel showed their good sense with respect to the number of horses required, by taking the opposite extreme of making two, or at most three, convey them all, instead of having at least eight to pull a carriage with one or two persons in it, as the Moldavians and Wallachians invariably do. Towards noon we saw camps of waggons, their drivers sitting round a cauldron in which they were boiling their dinner of *mamalinga*, a kind of stir-about made of Indian meal, like the Italian *polenta*, while their horses, buffaloes, and cattle grazed at liberty; and I remarked one party of Moldavians seated precisely in the attitude of the ancient Romans, as they partook of their repast. We changed horses at the village of Serdar, and thence proceeded to that of Tsurbar, which is situated on a small lake, with several islands in it. The peasants were still engaged in the operation of treading out their corn by driving horses over it in a circle. We now quitted the plain, and entered on a considerable extent of pasture land, rising in green hillocks, with streams and ponds in most of the hollows, and numerous hamlets scattered about. The lofty Carpathian range appeared on the left, scarcely fifteen miles distant, and the low hills of Bessarabia might occasionally be distinguished beyond the river Pruth, on the right, from some of the ridges; thus Austria and Russia were both visible at the same time from the centre of the narrow strip of Ottoman territory which lies



between them. We scampered gaily along on the soft grass, sometimes plunging into little marshes, and charging brooks in true steeple-chase style. There were several flocks of sheep to be seen, and they were apparently of a good breed. When moving from one place to another, they were not driven as in England, and no aggravating dogs barked at them, but they followed their shepherd, who walked in front, and they quickened their pace when he called to them; reminding one of the parable in which our Saviour likens himself to the shepherd who "goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice."

We came again upon one of the everlasting plains which are so characteristic of the Danubian provinces; the culture of maize seemed to be interminable, for the stubble of the Indian corn surrounded us uninterruptedly for many miles; and waggons, laden with the ears in a species of wattled basket, formed by the stalks raised seven or eight feet above the wheels, with a child or two generally sitting on the top of the whole, were creaking along at the slow foot-pace of oxen or buffaloes.

Our next post station was Lafunté; where I observed a complete farm-yard, having the appearance of a German settlement. Here commenced the only good macadamised road that I had seen in the principalities, and workmen were engaged in extending it towards Galatz, which town it is expected to reach next year. The postilions would not drive on it, however, until I insisted on their doing so; they preferred galloping through the wood on a line parallel to the road; and a wild and

exciting race it was, brushing under the low branches, and tearing through the underwood, with more sudden shocks against straggling roots than suited either the wheels or the springs of the drosky; for the spokes of the former were beginning to rattle ominously in their sockets, and a loud crack had indicated that a leaf of the latter had actually given way, before I could prevail on the drivers to take the way that was ready made for them instead of making one for themselves.

At the small town of Tekutsh, which we soon reached, the little Jew busied himself in cording the disabled spring, while I walked about the streets. They were broad and straight; several handsome houses had been recently built; and there were three or four large churches: but it was a small place, and possessed very little interest for a traveller, however easily he may be satisfied.

What attracted my attention much more than the statistics of Tekutsh was the flight of storks, which I watched for some time heavily winging their way in search of their winter quarters on the Nile: they flew in long lines of single files high up in the air, each detachment under the guidance of a leader, whose every deviation from the straight course was scrupulously imitated by his followers. This migration is considered by the natives an unerring indication of an approaching change for the worse in the weather; but, in this instance, their sagacity or instinct, whichever it may be, seemed to be at fault, for every other barometer would certainly have marked it at settled fine. On leaving Tekutsh we bade adieu to the joltless companionship of Macadam,

which we had enjoyed for about twenty miles, and again we scoured the almost trackless plain.

As the evening closed we changed horses at the large village of Tsiganest, and there I remarked a scaffolding which I had also seen near most of the more considerable communities, but of which I was at a loss to define the purpose. I supposed it to be connected with agriculture in some way, and I inquired at the post-house, but I was mistaken: it was merely a favourite pastime of the Moldo-Wallachian peasants on holidays; when they seat themselves in pairs on crossbars, which are pushed round vertically on a horizontal axle, as may be seen any day at the Champs Elysées of Paris, where it is little thought that the descendants of Trajan's Roman Colonies in Dacia participate every Sunday in the same rotatory diversion. The moon shone bright as we resumed our onward course; and I made up my mind to pass the night in the carriage, in the hope of finding myself near Jassy in the morning; but the storks were right, and I was wrong; for we had not gone far before the sky became clouded. A sudden gust of wind brought a few drops of rain under the hood of the drosky; then it became excessively cold; I thought it was a mere passing shower, but I soon found out that it was a winter storm in right earnest. Nothing was visible in the horizon but dark masses of clouds rising over the dreary moor. A tremendous jolt nearly upset us: the horses had swerved suddenly to the right, having shied at the skeleton of a horse, which had probably died on the way to the post-house when unable to proceed, and the



bones of which were almost completely picked by wolves.

The rain fell fast and heavy, the wind blew fiercely, and the cold had become intense. The post-boys urged their team ahead. They were twin gipsies of about twelve years of age, and their remarkable likeness to each other had made me notice them when they mounted at Tsiganest, the sombre brilliancy of their jet black eyes leaving no possible doubt as to their race. The horses galloped furiously, and in the dim twilight they seemed to have multiplied to an uncountable number. The gipsy boys tossed their arms and legs about most frantically as they screamed in shrill soprano tones to this whole herd of wild horses, which seemed to be dragging the poor little Jew and my miserable self, under the guidance of two young demons, to—I won't say where.

At last a light appeared in the distance, which I thought symptomatic of the vicinity of some kind of habitation where we might find shelter, but as we approached it I perceived, to my great disappointment, that it was only a fire. The smoke was prevented from rising by the wind, and it rolled along the plain in white curling wreaths, which threw a reflected light around, and the fire burned bright under the lusty bellows of *Æolus*. When we came nearer, something seemed to be moving before the flames; it looked like a human figure, but so wild and unearthly, that unpleasant associations of the spectre of the Brocken and the witches in *Macbeth* arose in my mind. Others appeared, and we ascertained that they were nothing more unwelcome than a troop of



Gipsies, whose tents had been blown down, and who were keeping themselves warm as they best could ; and cold enough they must have been, poor creatures, especially some children who were actually stark naked, in spite of the weather.

A sort of shrieking colloquy was established between our postilions and the houseless wanderers, as we were rushing past them, but it was not in the Moldavian language, and we remained in ignorance of its import. One old woman in rags took a prominent part in the strange conversation, and she moved towards us ; the postilions were pulling up, but Jacob addressed them vehemently, and they pushed on again ; he then turned to me and remarked that the *Zigeuner* were an unprofitable people. The old hag ran before the wind, scudding under bare poles, as if to intercept us, but whether her intention was to ask me for a seat in my drosky, or to offer me one at her fireside, is still an unsolved problem, for we soon distanced her, and her screams fell on the ear fainter and more faintly as they were gradually drowned by the howling of the wind.

The tempest waxed fiercer ; the rain had changed to sleet, and the ground became so slippery that the horses could hardly keep on their legs, while the carriage skated from side to side most fearfully, but still we advanced at a brisk pace. I was very cold, and I was beginning to get hungry too. The scene was exciting, but it was lasting too long ; I got drowsy, and at length I fell asleep, I believe, with the chilly snow flakes pattering on my face, while I was no longer possessed of sufficient

energy even to cover myself with the hood of my Greek capote. I had lost all consciousness of my position, probably for a considerable length of time, when I was suddenly aroused by the sound of an unknown tongue. I opened my eyes to convince myself I was not dreaming, and I saw the repulsive features of several Russian soldiers obtruded into the carriage, which had stopped, while a lantern was thrust forward in order that they might see mine. I began to think that I was Mazeppa, and I reflected that I could not surely be far from the Ukraine, but I recollected my little Jew, and I faintly articulated:—

“Jacob!”

“*Gnädiger Herr;*” replied he from behind the carriage, where he was inspecting the broken spring and the rickety wheels.

“Where are we, Jacob?”

“At Burlat, Sir, and we are only waiting till you will be pleased to show our passport.”

My fingers were quite benumbed, but I succeeded in fishing it out of a deep pocket, and it was duly examined, approved, and returned. We then proceeded slowly along the principal street of the town of Burlat.

“Shall we drive to the post-house, Sir?” inquired the Jew, who had resumed his seat on the box.

“Why should we go to the post-house, Jacob?” I replied, but half in possession of my mental faculties.

“To change horses, Sir.”

“Oh no, Jacob; I have had quite enough of that for to-night.”

“ Then to the inn, Sir ? ”

“ Yes, Jacob ; by all means to the inn.”

And the wiry little fellow directed the post-boys to take us to a good inn, with as much unconcern as if he could never feel either cold, or fatigue, or hunger. How he contrived to go through it all I cannot conceive, for he had peremptorily declined my repeated proposals that he should come into the inside of the carriage, and he had even refused to accept a proffered cloak. There he sat on the box, but lightly clad, and without an umbrella, during the whole storm, and still as fresh, and gay, and active as ever.

I was shown into a room with a stove in it of singular construction. It was in the form of a partition, dividing the room in two, and it was pierced with a number of large holes, like the gunports of a three-decker, while a narrow space was left at each end to serve as a passage from one compartment to the other. It served its purpose well, however, as the temperature was most satisfactory after that Tam o'Shanter race across the plain :—not so the larder ; for I could get nothing to appease the cravings of my inward man, except a very small cup of black coffee. It was consolatory to reflect, nevertheless, that on this journey there were no cravings of inward women or children to be appeased, as that would have been rather an embarrassing complication of my miseries. I therefore threw myself on a large table, which was the only article of furniture in the room besides two weak-limbed chairs, and I went to sleep, like a *wayfarer* taking his rest, with his *travelling* cloak around him.

When I awoke next morning, and looked out of the window, I found that everything was white with snow; but the fury of the storm was abated, and the large flakes fell softly to the ground. It was not very cold, and as the sky was clear, I had every prospect of being able to continue my journey without impediment. When the horses were being prepared I strolled about the town. It is not large, but Burlat is a central grain market, and the streets were crowded with buyers and sellers, for this was the season for the disposal of the crops. The houses are built in regular lines, and have a substantial appearance, though I saw none very remarkable either for size or for beauty.

On driving a couple of miles on our road, we came to the village of Slobadji, the property of one of the richest magnates of Moldavia, whose extensive and handsome mansion stood amidst a multitude of wretched hovels, typical of social distinctions to a degree that would have driven Ledru Rollin or Mazzini, even still more crazy, if either of them had been with me instead of my poor little Jew, who expressed the greatest veneration for the wealth of the Boyar when he told me who he was. We met the lord of this small despotism driving in his carriage to Burlat. It was without springs. Two servants, enfurred like their master, sat on the box, and the driver rode postilion on one of the wheelers, with three leaders before him. They were very fine horses, apparently of German breed. I remarked here the manner in which Indian corn is stored; four poles are stuck in the ground, and the long stalks of maize are interwoven between them, forming a basket



as big as a good-sized house, which is filled with the ears, and thatched over. The cultivation of this plant was universal, uninterrupted even by a ditch for miles together, and a whole range of low hills on our right was literally one stubble-field.

We passed the post-station of Docatina, where there was a large oriental-looking *khan* for travellers; but we did not stop longer than was necessary for changing horses, as I was anxious to reach Jassy that night, and our provision for the sustenance of exhausted nature consisted only in the purchase of a large sausage and a loaf of bread, which I calculated would serve our purpose without entailing a loss of time. I had forgotten, however, that the said sausage was too nearly allied to the unclean animal to come within the terms of the Mosaic code, and poor Jacob condemned himself to prison fare for one day, as nothing else could be got on the road.

The next place was Vaslui, situated on a height, and apparently inhabited by small proprietors, whose gipsy slaves had formed extensive suburbs of huts around it. We drove on, and came to a nice-looking country-house, with its small village of cultivators, in the centre of well-tilled fields and rich pastures. Its name is Milesci; and I afterwards found that a sort of interest was attached to it in the country, from the fact of its having once belonged to a certain Nicholas Kirnul, surnamed Milesco, whose history is curious as recorded in the Chronicles of John Neculce :—

During the administration of Prince Stephanitza, that

is about the year 1660, lived a Boyar of great learning and of large fortune; he never appeared in public without a retinue of grooms leading the most magnificent horses, caparisoned with embroidery in gold and silver, and wearing plumes on their heads; and he was himself always attired in silver armour, carrying a Turkish scimitar of enormous value and a mace. He was the favourite of the Prince, with whom he was in the habit of playing cards. But this Boyar,—who it appears was no other than the proprietor of the district of Vaslui, Nicholas Kirnul, repaid his patron for his favour with the most black ingratitude; he entered into correspondence with Constantine Bessaraba, who had been Prince of Wallachia from 1654 to 1658, but who now lived in retirement in Poland; and one of his letters, which had been concealed in a hollow stick, appeared so abominable to Bessaraba that he communicated its contents to Stephanitza, after having refused the proposals of Miliesco, which were to raise a sufficient force to defeat the Prince, and usurp his place. The latter, in his just resentment, ordered the traitor to be seized, and had his nose cut off by the public executioner in his presence, and with his own dagger. Miliesco, now called Kirnul, or the noseless, as the word implies in the Moldavian language, left the country and went to Germany, where he had a false nose made so like a real one that it could not easily be detected. He was well received by the Elector of Brandenburg, but it was afterwards discovered that he was in secret communication with the Swedes, then at war with Poland, and Frederick William, who

befriended the latter country, banished Kirnul. He then went to Stockholm, and at the request of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Pompone, he there published a work in Latin on the dogmas of the Greek church, which was at that time a subject of general interest; its title was, "Enchyridion, sive Stella Orientalis." From Sweden he travelled to Moscow, and the Czar Alexis made him the instructor of his son Peter, then a child. He received the highest honours in Russia, and became the possessor of great wealth. Finally he was sent as ambassador to the emperor of China, who presented him with a plate full of precious stones, one diamond alone being said to be as large as a pigeon's egg. On his return to Russia, he found the country in a state of anarchy, consequent on the death of the Czar in the year 1682; he was seized by the rebellious Strelitzes, who robbed him of all his treasures, with the exception of the large diamond, which he succeeded in concealing; and sent him to Siberia, where he passed several years in exile: but when his pupil Peter the Great ascended the throne after his long minority, Kirnul was recalled and taken into favour again. The Czar purchased the diamond for eighty purses, only about 1,500*l.*, and it became the chief ornament of the Imperial crown. So great was the affection of Peter for his teacher, that when he introduced the European costume into Russia, and prohibited the practice of wearing the beard, he insisted on himself shaving Kirnul with his own august hands. The Moldavian adventurer married a Russian lady of high rank, and spent the

remainder of his life in quiet and opulence. He died at Moscow, in 1709, leaving several sons who attained high rank in the Russian service; and his descendants are now classed among the nobles of the empire.

We drove the whole evening among fields in a state of close cultivation; not a foot of ground seemed to be lost. But, if agriculture cannot be much extended in Moldavia, its produce might certainly be augmented by improvement in its practice. After taking a crop of wheat from a piece of land, it is allowed to lie in fallow for at least two years, and then it is again sown with the same. The mode of ploughing consists in merely stirring the surface-soil to a depth of three or four inches; and all the manure collected at the farms, or peasants' cottages, is thrown into the nearest rivulet, to be carried away. The natives believe that it injures the crop when applied to the land; and this may be true when it is ploughed in at such a depth, for the moisture might then escape more easily in the commencement of summer. They admit, however, that the soil is improved by the pasturing of cattle before it is sown. There is little chance, nevertheless, of any decided amelioration in the system of husbandry being effected, as long as serfage exists in these provinces; for the serf is bound to till a certain measure of ground for his boyar, or lord, and he will always endeavour to fulfil his task as lightly as possible. And another great impediment is the practice of giving leases for only three years, thus leaving no time for the speculator to receive the returns of improved culture.



In one respect there has been, nevertheless, decided progress of late; and it is of a nature to promote the corn-trade, which was formerly checked by the imperfect process of threshing and winnowing, as the wheat was ill-cleaned, and consequently of inferior quality. The manner of separating the grain from the straw, was, to lay a quantity of corn in a small circular enclosure, and to turn into it from ten to fifty horses, which were driven about, treading it out and crushing it, until the whole was reduced to a heap of chopped straw mingled with wheat; it was then thrown up into the air with wooden spades, during a strong wind, which blew away the chaff. But now a great many proprietors have imported threshing and winnowing-machines from England, and they find that they obtain twenty per cent. more grain from their crop of wheat by using them, besides the advantage of having it better cleaned, and kept dry during the process of working under cover.

The wheat of Moldavia is superior to that of Wallachia; but even there not more than the half of the grain produced is fit for the English market, while in the latter province at least three-quarters of the produce are deficient in condition. Until lately Constantinople was a good market for the low wheat of the principalities; but since the year 1842, when the exportation of grain from Turkey was allowed, the produce of the Ottoman empire has so much increased, that the capital is sufficiently supplied from the country around it. The cultivators in Wallachia and Moldavia must, therefore, take measures to ameliorate the quality of their grain, or

they will otherwise have great difficulty in finding a market for a considerable part of it. The practice of storing it in holes in the ground, which gave it an earthy smell, is being gradually discontinued; and in this respect the quality is not so bad as it formerly was.

It appears strange that, while wheat and barley are generally of such inferior value in the provinces, the Indian corn grown in them should be the finest in the world; but such is the case. The quantity produced has much increased of late; and if Great Britain should continue to require it, at a price not lower than 24s. delivered in England, the cultivation of it will probably go on extending.

Though rude and backward in their practice of agriculture, the Danubian principalities produce a sufficient quantity of grain to attract the serious attention of countries which, like England, are obliged to import; and the active trade carried on at the Moldo-Wallachian ports deserves the mature consideration of those states which are directly interested in it, as she is.

Night fell, and we were still forty miles from Jassy, as the days were now short, and the heavy state of the roads, formed by mingled snow and mud unfrozen, had prevented our making more than nine or ten miles an hour. But it was not cold, and the moon shone bright; so we determined on going on, the more so as there was no place on the road where we could pass the night with any degree of satisfaction. At a late hour, as we were traversing a vast and dreary plain, the sound of distant music met my ear: no house was visible on any part of

the clear horizon ; and this barren moor appeared to me a singular place to choose for a concert. The sounds became more and more distinct. I thought of the "*chant des nonnes*," when they came out of their graves to dance in flesh-coloured tights round Robert le Diable ; my astonished imagination conjured up the "*Geisten chor*" of Goëthe's Faust, and confused images of Milton's music of the spheres crossed my bewildered brain. I told Jacob to make the postilions pull up ; and there I sat for a good half-hour in an open carriage on a desert, listening to an admirable chorus by the pale light of the winter moon. The only thing I ever heard in the least like it, was the singing of the Orphéon at Franconi's in Paris, where each part was sustained by several hundred voices in unison. The air was wild and melancholy, but perfectly beautiful, and the harmony was filled up with faultless intonation by high tenors, barytones, and deep basses. It approached nearer and nearer. At last I could distinguish a long black line moving on the plain like an enormous serpent, and slowly advancing towards us. It might be a procession of monks, but the music was too good, and there were no torches ; and then, an occasional clanking of steel, and neighing of horses, refuted that theory. The next guess proved correct, when the head of the long line came close to us : it was a numerous body of Cossacks on the line of march. These corps have no bands, but what their singularly fine voices, and accurate ear for music, can supply ; and it is their habit to sing their national airs in chorus, when they march, than which nothing could be more

striking. There were about three hundred of them, four deep. I remarked a great number of led horses, those leading them having two lances slung over their bridle arm, and this was soon explained by the appearance of several waggons in the rear laden with sick. Poor fellows ! starved and poisoned by their officers, both military and medical, who fatten on their privations, and enrich themselves by providing for their suffering soldiers scanty food, and cheap drugs.

The Cossacks are a people much maligned. They are confounded with the Muscovites, and aspersed for habits imposed on them by their government, such as that of seeking plunder, which is enjoined as the sole remuneration awarded for their services. They were embodied in the Russian army with the same system as existed among them, in the time of that singular warlike commonwealth of the Zaporogues, whose laws were so severe, that the slightest infraction was punished by Lynch justice : thus theft from one another, or the mere presence of a female on their island, constituted a capital crime ; the latter being a curious fact, when it is considered that in the same country a nation of women once existed who excluded men, if one may believe the obscure accounts we have received from ancient historians respecting the Amazons. Robbing an enemy, and committing acts of brutal violence during war, are considered meritorious. Nothing has been done by Russia to purify their ideas of right and wrong ; and they are made to serve her on the same principles, electing their own officers, and paying themselves as they can. They



are not attached to Russia, and they still retain a traditional hatred of her very name, which dates from the time when they were united with the Poles, two centuries ago.

Besides this, they are Ruthenians, and, though of common Slavonic origin, there is neither sympathy nor resemblance between that tribe and the Muscovites, who inhabit the more northern parts of the empire. The ten millions of free peasantry in Russia are all Ruthenians ; they are bold and warlike, and they are of an adventurous disposition, while the Muscovites are timid and pacific ; they are physically strong, and morally independent, but the Russian serfs are diminutive in person, and degraded in character ; and the Ruthenians, like the southern branches of the Slavonic race, are now awakening to a sense of their own worth, a strong feeling against the Russian domination having arisen among them ; whereas the Muscovites hitherto appear to be incapable of even aspiring at freedom, far less of making an effort to achieve it. To the Ruthenians does Russia owe the existence of her empire, for her conquest of Siberia and the northern provinces of Persia could not have been effected without them ; by them may that empire be one day overthrown.

Another hour safely housed me in an hotel at Jassy, an infinitely better one than any that Bucharest can boast of.

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R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

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